Ann. 79 — 45 — 1789

THE HISTORY OF The Late Revolution OF THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL,

Together with the most considerable Passages for 5 years following in that Empire.

To which is added,

A LETTER to the Lord COLBERT, touching the Extent of *Indostan*; the Circulation of the Gold and Silver of the World, to discharge it self there; as also the *Riches, Forces,* and *Justice* of the same: and the Principal Cause of the Decay of the States of *Asia*.

By *Monsr* F. BERNIER,
Physician of the Faculty of *Montpelier*.

English'd out of [illegible]

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON Printed, and Sold by [illegible] at the [illegible] and *T. Miller* at the [illegible] and *J. Starkey* at the [illegible]

520.08

An EXTRACT of a

LETTER

Written to Mr. H. O.

FROM

Monſieur DE MONCEAUX,

THE YOUNGER,

Giving a Character of the BOOK, here Engliſhed, *and its* AUTHOR.

VIrtue ſometimes is no leſs intereſted than Affection: Both, Sir, are glad to receive from time to time pledges mutually anſwering for thoſe that have united themſelves in a cloſe correſpondence. Yours indeed ſhould demand of

me ſuch, as might be a ſecurity to you for the advance you have been pleaſed to make me of your Friendſhip. But ſince at preſent I have nothing worth preſenting you with; and yet am unwilling to give you any leiſure to be diffident of my realneſs, or to repent for having ſo eaſily given me a ſhare in your eſteem, I here ſend you a *Relation* of INDOSTAN, in which you will find ſuch conſiderable Occurrences, as will make you confeſs, I could not convey to you a more acceptable Preſent, and that Monſieur *Bernier*, who hath written it, is a very Gallant Man, and of a mould, I wiſh all Travellers were made of. We ordinarily travel more out of *Unſettledneſs* than *Curioſity*,

rioſity, with a deſign to *ſee* Towns and Countries rather than to *know* their Inhabitants and Productions; and we ſtay not long enough in a place, to inform our ſelves well of the Government, Policy, Intereſts and Manners of its People. Monſieur *Bernier*, after he had benefitted himſelf for the ſpace of many years by the converſe of the famous *Gaſſendi*, ſeen him expire in his arms, ſucceeded him in his Knowledge, and inherited his Opinions and Diſcoveries, embarqued for *Ægypt*, ſtay'd above a whole year at *Cairo*, and then took the occaſion of ſome *Indian* Veſſels, that Trade in the Ports of the *Red Sea*, to paſs to *Suratte*; and after Twelve years abode at

the Court of the GREAT MOGOL, is at last come to seek his rest in his native Countrey, there to give an Accompt of his Observations and Discoveries, and to poure out into the bosom of *France*, what he had amassed in *India*.

Sir, I shall say nothing to you of his Adventures, which you will find in the Relations that are to follow hereafter, which he abandons to the greedinesse of the Curious, who prefer their satisfaction to his quiet, and do already persecute him to have the sequel of this History. Neither shall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the Neighbourhood of *Mecca*; nor of his prudent Conduct, which made him merit the esteem

eſteem of his Generous *Fazelkan*, who ſince is become the firſt Miniſter of that Great Empire, whom he taught the principal Languages of *Europe*, after he had Tranſlated for him the whole Philoſophy of *Gaſſendi* in *Latin*, and whoſe leave he could not obtain to go home, 'till he had got for him a ſelect number of our beſt *European* Books, thereby to ſupply the loſs he ſhould ſuffer of his Perſon. This, at leaſt, I can aſſure you of, *that* never a Traveller went from home more capable to obſerve, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity; *that* I knew him at *Conſtantinople*, and in ſome Towns of *Greece*, of ſo excellent a Conduct,

that I propoſed him to my ſelf for a Pattern in the Deſign I then had, to carry my Curioſity as far as the place where the Sun riſeth; *that* I have often drowned in the ſweetneſs of his entertainment the bitterneſſes, which elſe I muſt have ſwallowed all alone, in ſuch irkſome and unpleaſant paſſages, as are thoſe of *Aſia*.

Sir, You will do me a pleaſure to let me know the ſentiment, your Illuſtrious SOCIETY hath of this Piece. Their Approbation begets much emulation among the Intelligent, who all have no other Ambition than to pleaſe them. I my ſelf muſt avow to you, that if I thought I could merit ſo much, I ſhould not ſo ſtiffly oppoſe, as I do, the Publi-

Publication of the Obſervations and Notes I have made in the *Levant*. I ſhould ſuffer my Friends to take them out of my Cabinet, where, from the ſlight value I have for them, they are like to lye impriſoned, except the KING my Maſter, by whoſe Order I undertook thoſe Voyages, ſhould abſolutely command me to ſet them at liberty, and to let them take their courſe in the world. Mean time, Sir, you will oblige me, to aſſure thoſe GREAT MEN, who this day compoſe the moſt knowing Company on Earth, of the Veneration I have for the Oracles that come from their Mouth, and that I prefer their *Lyceum* before that of *Athens*; and laſtly, that

that of all their Admirers there is none, that hath a greater Concern for their Glory, than

Paris, Julij 16, 1670. *De* MONCEAUX.

The

The Heads of the Principal Contents of this History: Added by the *Engliſh* Interpreter.

1. *What depth of Policy and Craft was uſed by* Aureng-Zebe, *the* Heros *in this Hiſtory, and the Third of the Four Sons of* Chah-Jehan *the* Great Mogol, *to ſupplant all his Brothers, and to ſettle himſelf in the Throne: And how the firſt Foundation thereof was laid by the* Viſier *of the King of* Golkonda, *and the ſickneſs of* Chah-Jehan *the Father of* Aureng-Zebe.

2. *A mixture of Love-Intrigues, practiſed by the Princeſs* Begum-Saheb, *one of the two Daughters of the* Great Mogol, Chah-Jehan.

3. *How* Aureng-Zebe *having overcome all his Brothers, did ſecure his Father, and others, whom he had cauſe to be jealous of.*

4. *How*

4. *How the Neighbours of the Empire of* Mogol *demeaned themſelves towards the new Emperour*, Aureng-Zebe; *and what Embaſſies were diſpatched to him, firſt by the* Usbec-Tartars *(where a Deſcription of that Countrey and People;) then the* Dutch *of* Suratte; *as alſo from* Mecca, *from* Arabia Felix, *from* Ethiopia *and* Perſia; *together with an Account of their reſpective Inſtructions, Receptions, Entertainments and Diſmiſſions; particularly of that of the* Hollanders, *ſecuring and improving their Trade by this their Embaſſie.*

5. Aureng-Zebe's *ſingular prudence, and indefatigable pains, in managing the Government himſelf; and how he treated him that endeavoured to perſwade him to take his eaſe and pleaſure, now he was eſtabliſhed.*

6. Aureng-Zebe's *diſtaſte againſt his Favourite-Siſter*, Rauchenara-Begum, *occaſioned by ſome Love-Cabals.*

7. *His great Care in appointing a Governour and Tutor to his Third Son* Sultan Ekbar.

8. *With what wiſdom and ſeverity* Aureng-

Aureng-Zebe *received and treated his Pedantick Tutor, who expected to be made a great Lord for his former ſervice; together with a Model for the ſutable Education of a Great Prince, preſcribed by* Aureng-Zebe *on this occaſion.*

9. *In what credit* Judiciary Aſtrology *is over all* Aſia.

10. *How the Kings of* India *make themſelves Heirs of all the Eſtate of thoſe that dye in their ſervice.*

11. *Of the Reciprocal Appearance of Kindneſſes between* Aureng-Zebe *and his Impriſon'd Father and Siſter.*

12. *What paſs'd between* Aureng-Zebe *and* Emir-Jemla, *who had laid the firſt Ground-work to* Aureng-Zebe's *Greatneſs.*

13. *What in theſe Revolutions was tranſacted about the Bay of* Bengale *and the Heathen Kingdom of* Rakan.

14. *How* Aureng-Zebe *carried himſelf towards his two Eldeſt Sons,* Sultan Mahmoud *and* Sultan Mahum: *And how, for a Trial of the Obedience and Courage of the latter, he commanded him to kill a certain Lion, that did great miſchief*

miſchief in the Countrey; together with the ſucceſs thereof.

15. *Divers Particulars, ſhewing the Intereſt between* Indoſtan *and* Perſia, *ſuppoſed by this Author to be unknown, or at leaſt not well known hitherto.*

16. *How generouſly* Aureng-Zebe *recompenſed thoſe that had faithfully ſerved him in theſe Revolutions.*

17. *Some Account of that ſmall Kingdom of* Kachimere, *or* Caſſimere, *repreſented as the Paradice of the* Indies; *concerning which the Author affirms, that he hath a particular Hiſtory of it in the* Perſian *Tongue.*

18. *A conſiderable Relation of* Suratte's *being ſtrangely ſurpriz'd and plunder'd, by a ſtout Rebel of* Viſapour; *and how the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *ſaved themſelves and their Treaſure in this bold Enterprize.*

19. *A particular Account both of the former and preſent State of the whole Peninſule of* Indoſtan; *the occaſion of its Diviſion into divers Sovereignties, and the ſeveral Arts uſed to maintain themſelves one againſt another; particularly of the preſent Government and State*

of

of the Kingdoms of Golkonda *and* Viſapour, *and their Intereſts in reference to the* Great Mogol.

20. *Of the Extent of* Indoſtan, *and the Trade which the* Engliſh, Portugueſes, *and* Hollanders, *have in that Empire; as alſo of the vaſt quantities of Gold and Silver, circulated through the World, and conveyed into* Indoſtan, *and there ſwallowed up, as in an Abyſs.*

21. *Of the many Nations, which in that vaſt Extent of Countrey cannot be well kept in ſubjection by the* Great Mogol.

22. *Of the* Great Mogol's *Religion, which is* Mahumetan, *of the* Turkiſh, *not* Perſian *Sect.*

23. *Of his* Militia, *both in the Field and about his Perſon; and how the ſame is provided for, employed, punctually paid, and carefully diſtributed in ſeveral places.*

24. *Of the* Omrahs, *that is, the Great Lords of* Indoſtan; *their ſeveral Qualities, Offices, Attendants.*

25. *The Artillery of the* Mogol, *great and ſmall, very conſiderable.*

26. *Of his Stables of Horſes, Elephants, Camels, Mules,* &c.

27. *Of*

The Heads of this Hiſtory.

27. *Of his* Seraglio.

28. *Of his vaſt Revenues and Expences.*

29. *What Prince may be ſaid to be truly Rich.*

30. *An important State-Queſtion Debated*, viz. *Whether it be more expedient for the Prince and People, that the Prince be the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Countrey over which he Reigns, yea or no?*

THE

THE HISTORY OF The Late Revolution OF THE DOMINIONS OF THE *GREAT MOGOL.*

THE desire of seeing the World having made me Travel into *Palestina* and *Egypt*, would not let me stop there; it put me upon a resolution to see the *Red Sea* from one end to the

other. I went from *Grand Cairo*, after I had ſtaid there above a year; and in two and thirty hours, going the *Caravan*-pace, I arrived at *Suez*, where I embarked in a Galley, which in ſeventeen days carry'd me, always in ſight of land, to the Port of *Gidda*, which is half a days journey from *Mecca*. There I was conſtrained (contrary to my hopes, and the promiſe which the *Beig* of the *Red Sea* had made me) to go a ſhore on that pretended Holy Land of *Mahomet*, where a Chriſtian, that is not a Slave, dares not ſet his foot. I ſtaid there four and thirty days; and then I embarked in a ſmall Veſſel, which in fifteen days carried me along the Coaſt of *Arabia the Happy* to *Moka*, near the Streight of *Babel-mandel*. I reſolved to paſs thence to the Iſle of *Maſowa* and *Arkiko*, to get as far as *Gondar*, the Capital Town of the Country of *Alebech*, or the Kingdom of *Æthiopia*; but I received certain information, that, ſince the *Portugueſes* had been killed there by the intrigue of the Queen Mother, or expelled,

pelled, together with the Jeſuit Patriarch, whom they had brought thither from *Goa*, the *Roman* Catholicks were not ſafe there; a poor Capuchin having loſt his head at *Suaken*, for having attempted to enter into that Kingdom: That indeed, by going under the name of a *Greek* or an *Armenian* I did not run ſo great hazard, and that even the King himſelf, when he ſhould know, that I could do him ſervice, would give me Land to Till by Slaves, which I might buy if I had money; but that undoubtedly they would forthwith oblige me to Marry, as they had lately done a certain Frier, who had paſſed there under the name of a *Greek* Phyſitian; and that they would never ſuffer me to come away again.

Theſe conſiderations, among others, induced me to change my reſolution. I went aboard of an *Indian* Veſſel; I paſſed thoſe Streights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at *Surratte* in *Indoſtan*, the Empire of the *Great Mogol*, in the Year 1655. There I found,

that he who then Reigned there, was call'd *Chah-Jehan*, that is to say, King of the World; who, according to the History of that Countrey, was Son of *Jehan-Guyre*, which signifieth Conquerour of the World, Grandchild of *Ekbar*, which is Great, and that thus ascending by *Houmayons*, or the Fortunate, Father of *Ekbar*, and his other Predecessors, he was the *Tenth* of those that were descended from that *Timur-Lengue*, which signifieth the *Lame Prince*, commonly and corruptly call'd *Tamerlan*, so renowned for his Conquests; who Married his near Kinswoman, the only Daughter of the Prince of the Nations of *Great Tartary*, call'd *Mogols*, who have left and communicated their Name to the strangers, that now Govern *Indostan*, the Countrey of the *Indians*; though those that are employ'd in publick Charges and Offices, and even those that are listed in the *Militia*, be not all of the Race of the *Mogols*, but strangers, and Nations gather'd out of all Countries, most of them *Persians*, some *Arabians*, and some *Turks*.

For,

For, to be eſteem'd a *Mogol*, 'tis enough to be a ſtranger white of Face, and a *Mahumetan*; in diſtinction as well to the *Indians*, who are brown, and *Pagans*, as to the *Chriſtians* of *Europe*, who are call'd *Franguis*.

I found alſo at my arrival, *that* this King of the World, *Chiah-Jehan*, of above ſeventy years of Age, had four Sons and two Daughters; *that*, ſome years ſince, he had made theſe four Sons Vice-Kings or Governours of four of his moſt conſiderable Provinces or Kingdoms; *that* it was almoſt a year that he was fallen into a great ſickneſs, whence it was believed he would never recover: Which had occaſioned a great diviſion among theſe four Brothers (all laying claim to the Empire) and had kindled among them a War which laſted about five years, and which I deſign here to deſcribe, having been preſent at ſome of the moſt conſiderable Actions, and entertained for the ſpace of eight years at that Court, where Fortune and the ſmall ſtock of Money (left me after divers

that he who then Reigned there, was call'd *Chah-Jehan*, that is to say, King of the World; who, according to the History of that Countrey, was Son of *Jehan-Guyre*, which signifieth Conquerour of the World, Grandchild of *Ekbar*, which is Great, and that thus ascending by *Houmayons*, or the Fortunate, Father of *Ekbar*, and his other Predecessors, he was the *Tenth* of those that were descended from that *Timur-Lengue*, which signifieth the *Lame Prince*, commonly and corruptly call'd *Tamerlan*, so renowned for his Conquests; who Married his near Kinswoman, the only Daughter of the Prince of the Nations of *Great Tartary*, call'd *Mogols*, who have left and communicated their Name to the strangers, that now Govern *Indostan*, the Countrey of the *Indians*; though those that are employ'd in publick Charges and Offices, and even those that are listed in the *Militia*, be not all of the Race of the *Mogols*, but strangers, and Nations gather'd out of all Countries, most of them *Persians*, some *Arabians*, and some *Turks*.

For,

For, to be eſteem'd a *Mogol*, 'tis enough to be a ſtranger white of Face, and a *Mahumetan*; in diſtinction as well to the *Indians*, who are brown, and *Pagans*, as to the *Chriſtians* of *Europe*, who are call'd *Franguis*.

I found alſo at my arrival, *that* this King of the World, *Chah-Jehan*, of above ſeventy years of Age, had four Sons and two Daughters; *that*, ſome years ſince, he had made theſe four Sons Vice-Kings or Governours of four of his moſt conſiderable Provinces or Kingdoms; *that* it was almoſt a year that he was fallen into a great ſickneſs, whence it was believed he would never recover: Which had occaſioned a great diviſion among theſe four Brothers (all laying claim to the Empire) and had kindled among them a War which laſted about five years, and which I deſign here to deſcribe, having been preſent at ſome of the moſt conſiderable Actions, and entertained for the ſpace of eight years at that Court, where Fortune and the ſmall ſtock of Money (left me after divers

encounters with Robbers, and the expences of a Voyage of six and forty days from *Suratte* to *Agra* and *Dehli*, the Capital Towns of that Empire) obliged me to take a Salary from the *Grand Mogol* in the quality of a Physitian, and a little while after from *Danech-mend-Kan*, the most knowing Man of *Asia*, who had been *Bakshis* or Great Master of the Horse, and was one of the most powerful and the most considerable *Omrahs* or Lords of that Court.

The *Eldest* of these four Sons of *Chah-Jehan* was call'd *Dara*, that is *Darius*. The *Second* was call'd *Sultan Sujah*, that is the Valiant Prince. The Name of the *Third* was *Aurenge-Zebe*, which signifies the Ornament of the Throne. That of the *Fourth* was *Morad-Bakche*, as if you should say, Desire accomplished. Of the two Daughters, the eldest was call'd *Begum-Saheb*, that is the Mistress Princess; and the youngest *Rauchenara-Begum*, which is as much as Bright Princess, or the Splendour of Princesses.

'Tis

'Tis the Cuſtom of the Countrey, to give ſuch Names to their Princes and Princeſſes. Thus the Wife of *Chah-Jehan*, ſo renown'd for her Beauty, and for having a Tomb, which much more deſerved to be reckon'd among the Wonders of the World, than thoſe unſhapen Maſſes, and thoſe heaps of ſtones in *Egypt*, was called *Tage-Mehalle*, that is to ſay, the Crown of the *Seraglio*; and the Wife of *Jehan-Guyre*, who hath ſo long Govern'd the State, whilſt her Huſband minded nothing but Drinking and Divertiſements, was firſt called *Nour-Mehalle*, and afterwards, *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, the Light of the *Seraglio*, the Light of the *world*. The reaſon, why they give ſuch kind of Names to the Great Ones, and not Names from their Land or Dominion (as is uſual in *Europe*) is, becauſe all the Land being the Kings, there are no Marquiſates, Earldoms and Dutchies, of which the Grandees might bear their Names; all conſiſts in Penſions either of Land or ready Money,

encounters with Robbers, and the expences of a Voyage of six and forty days from *Suratte* to *Agra* and *Dehli*, the Capital Towns of that Empire) obliged me to take a Salary from the *Grand Mogol* in the quality of a Physitian, and a little while after from *Danech-mend-Kan*, the most knowing Man of *Asia*, who had been *Bakshis* or Great Master of the Horse, and was one of the most powerful and the most considerable *Omrahs* or Lords of that Court.

The *Eldest* of these four Sons of *Chah-Jehan* was call'd *Dara*, that is *Darius*. The *Second* was call'd *Sultan Sujah*, that is the Valiant Prince. The Name of the *Third* was *Aurenge-Zebe*, which signifies the Ornament of the Throne. That of the *Fourth* was *Morad-Bakche*, as if you should say, Desire accomplished. Of the two Daughters, the eldest was call'd *Begum-Saheb*, that is the Mistress Princess, and the youngest *Rauchenara-Begum*, which is as much as Bright Princess, or the Splendour of Princesses.

'Tis

'Tis the Cuſtom of the Countrey, to give ſuch Names to their Princes and Princeſſes. Thus the Wife of *Chah-Jehan*, ſo renown'd for her Beauty, and for having a Tomb, which much more deſerved to be reckon'd among the Wonders of the World, than thoſe unſhapen Maſſes, and thoſe heaps of ſtones in *Egypt*, was called *Tage-Mehalle*, that is to ſay, the Crown of the *Seraglio*; and the Wife of *Jehan-Guyre*, who hath ſo long Govern'd the State, whilſt her Husband minded nothing but Drinking and Divertiſements, was firſt called *Nour-Mehalle*, and afterwards, *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, the Light of the *Seraglio*, the Light of the *World*. The reaſon, why they give ſuch kind of Names to the Great Ones, and not Names from their Land or Dominion (as is uſual in *Europe*) is, becauſe all the Land being the Kings, there are no Marquiſates, Earldoms and Dutchies, of which the Grandees might bear their Names; all conſiſts in Penſions either of Land or ready Money,

which the King giveth, increaſeth, retrencheth, and takes away, as ſeems good unto him: And 'tis even for this reaſon, that the *Omrahs* have alſo no other but ſuch Names; one *(for example)* being called *Raz-Audaze-Kan, i.e.* a Thunderer; another, *Safe Cheken-Kan*, a Breaker of Ranks; a third, *Bare-Audaze-Kan*, a Man of Lightening; others, *Dianet-Kan*, or *Danechmend-Kan*, or *Fazel-Kan, i. e.* the Faithful Lord, the Intelligent, the Perfect, and the like.

Dara, the Eldeſt Son, wanted not good Qualities. He was Gallant in Converſation, Witty in Reparties, exceeding Civil and Liberal, but entertained too good an opinion of his perſon, eſteeming himſelf alone capable of all, and thinking it ſcarce poſſible that any Body was able to give him counſel; inſomuch, that he would give reproachful Names to thoſe who pretended to adviſe him in any thing; whereby it came to paſs, that even thoſe, who were moſt affectionate to him, were ſhie to diſcover to him

him the moſt ſecret Intrigues of his Brothers. Beſides, he was apt to be tranſported with paſſion, to menace, to injure, to affront, even the greateſt *Omrahs* or Lords; but all paſſed over like a flaſh of Light. Though he was a Mahumetan, and publickly expreſſed in the ordinary Exerciſes of Religion to be ſo, yet, in private, he was Heathen with the Heathen, and Chriſtian with the Chriſtians. He had conſtantly about him of thoſe Heathen Doctors, to whom he gave very conſiderable Penſions, and who (as was ſaid) had inſtilled into him Opinions contrary to the Religion of the Land; of which I may touch ſomething hereafter, when I ſhall come to ſpeak of the Religion of the *Indians* or *Gentiles*. He alſo hearkened of late very willingly to the Reverend Father *Buzee* a Jeſuit, and began very well to reliſh what he ſuggeſted. Yet there are ſome who ſay, that at the bottom he was void of all Religion, and that whatever he pretended in it, was only for curioſity, or, as others ſay, out of

of policy, to make himself beloved by the Christians, who are pretty numerous in his Artillery; but above all, to gain the Affection of the *Rajas* or Soveraign Gentiles, that were Tributary to the Empire, and to make them of his party upon occasion. Mean time, this hath not much furthered his Affairs, on the contrary, it will appear in the sequel of this History, that the pretence used by *Aureng-Zebe*, his third Brother, to Cut off his Head, was, that he was turned *Kafer*, that is to say, an Infidel, of no Religion, an Idolater.

Sultan Sujah, the second Brother, was much of the humour of *Dara*, but he was more close and more settled, and had better Conduct and Dexterity. He was fit to manage an Intrigue well, and he made, under hand, friends by the force of presents, which he heaped upon the great *Omrahs*, and principally upon the most powerful *Rajas*, as *Jessomseigne*, and some others; but he did somewhat too much indulge his pleasures, in entertaining an extra-

ordinary

ordinary number of Women, among whom when he was, he ſpent whole days and nights in drinking, ſinging, and dancing. He made them preſents of very rich Apparel; and he encreaſed or leſſened their penſions according as the fancy took him: By which kind of Life his Affairs did languiſh, and the affections of many of his people cooled. He caſt himſelf into the Religion of the *Perſians*, although *Chah-Jehan*, his Father, and all his Brothers, were of the *Turkiſh*. 'Tis known that *Mahumetaniſm* is divided into ſeveral Sects, which made that famous *Check-Sady*, Author of the *Gouliſtan*, ſay in Verſe, which is to this effect in Proſe; *I am a Dervich Drinker, I ſeem to be without Religion, and I am known of ſixty two Sects.* But of all thoſe Sects there are two principal ones, whoſe Partiſans are mortal Enemies to one another. The *one* is that of the *Turks*, whom the *Perſians* call *Oſmantous*, that is, Sectators of *Oſman*; they believing that 'tis he that was the true and lawful Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, the Great Caliph

Caliph or Soveraign Prieſt, to whom alone it did appertain to interpret the *Alcoran*, and to decide the Controverſies to be met with in the Law. The *other* is that of the *Perſians*, whom the *Turks* call *Chias*, *Rafezys*, *Aly-Merdans*, that is, Sectaries, Hereticks, Partiſans of *Aly*, becauſe they believe, contrary to the belief of the *Turks*, that this ſucceſſion and pontifical Authority, which I juſt now intimated, was due only to *Aly* the Son-in-law of *Mahomet*. It was by reaſon of State that *Sultan Sujah* had embraced this latter Sect, conſidering that all the *Perſians* being *Chias*, and moſt of them, or their Children, having the greateſt power at the Court of *Mogol*, and holding the moſt important Places of the Empire, he had moſt reaſon to hope, that, when occaſion ſerved, they would all take his part.

Aureng-Zebe, the third Brother, had not that Gallantry, nor ſurpriſing Preſence of *Dara*, he appeared more ſerious and melancholy, and

was

was indeed much more judicious, underſtanding the World very well, and knowing whom to chuſe for his ſervice and purpoſe, and where to beſtow his favour and bounty moſt for his intereſt. He was reſerved, crafty, and exceedingly verſed in diſſembling, inſomuch that for a long while he made profeſſion to be *Fakire*, that is, Poor, *Dervich*, or Devout, renouncing the World, and faining not to pretend at all to the Crown, but to deſire to paſs his Life in Prayer and other Devotions. In the mean time he failed not to make a party at Court, eſpecially when he was made Vice-King of *Decan*; but he did it with ſo much dexterity, art, and ſecrecy, that it could hardly be perceived. He alſo had the skill to maintain himſelf in the Affection of *Chah-Jehan* his Father, who although he much loved *Dara*, could yet not forbear to ſhew that he eſteemed *Aureng-Zebe*, and judged him capable to Reign; which cauſed jealouſie enough in *Dara*, who began to find it, inſomuch that he could not

hold

hold from saying sometimes to his friends in private; *Of all my Brothers I apprehend only this Nemazi*, that is, this *Bigot*, this great Praying-man.

Morad-Bakche, the Youngest of all, was the least dextrous, and the least judicious. He cared for nothing but mirth and pastime, to drink, hunt, and shoot. Yet he had some good Qualities; for he was very civil and liberal; he gloried in it, that he kept nothing secret; he despised *Cabals*; and he bragg'd openly, that he trusted only in his Arm and Sword: In short, he was very Brave, and if this Bravery had been accompanied with some Conduct, he would have carried the Bell from all his Brothers, and been King of *Indostan*; as will appear in what is to follow.

Concerning the two Daughters, the Eldest, *Begum-Saheb*, was very Beautiful, and a great Wit, passionately beloved of her Father. It was even rumoured, that he loved her to that degree as is hardly to be imagined, and that he alledged for his excuse, that,

that, according to the determination of his *Mullahs* or Doctors of his Law, it was permitted a Man to eat of the Fruit of the Tree he had planted. He had ſo great a confidence in her, that he had given her charge to watch over his ſafety, and to have an Eye to all what came to his Table: And ſhe knew perfectly to manage his humour, and even in the moſt weighty Affairs to bend him as ſhe pleaſed. She was exceedingly enriched by great penſions, and by coſtly preſents, which ſhe received from all parts, for ſuch Negotiations as ſhe employed her ſelf in about her Father: And ſhe made alſo great expences, being of a very liberal and generous diſpoſition. She ſtuck entirely to *Dara*, her Eldeſt Brother, eſpouſed cordially his part, and declared openly for him; which contributed not a little to make the Affairs of *Dara* proſper, and to keep him in the affection of his Father; for ſhe ſupported him in all things, and advertiſed him of all occurrences: Yet that was not ſo much, becauſe he was

the

the Eldeſt Son, and ſhe the Eldeſt Daughter (as the people believed) as becauſe he had promiſed her, that as ſoon as he ſhould come to the Crown he would Marry her; which is altogether extraordinary, and almoſt never practiſed in *Indoſtan*.

I ſhall not ſcruple to relate here ſome of the *Amours* of this Princeſs, although ſhut up in a *Seraglio*, and well kept, like other Women. Neither ſhall I apprehend, that I may be thought to prepare Matter for a Romancer; for they are not *Amours* like ours, followed by Gallant and *Comical* Adventures, but attended with Events dreadful and *Tragical*.

Now 'tis reported, that this Princeſs found means to let a young Gallant enter the *Seraglio*, who was of no great Quality, but proper, and of a good Meen. But among ſuch a number of jealous and envious perſons, ſhe could not carry on her buſineſs ſo privily, but ſhe was diſcover'd. *Chah-Jehan*, her Father, was ſoon advertiſed of it, and reſolved to ſurpriſe her,

her, under the pretence of giving her a Viſit, as he uſed to do. The Princeſs ſeeing him come unexpected, had no more time than to hide this unfortunate Lover in one of the great Chaudrons made to Bath in; which yet could not be ſo done, but that *Chah-Jehan* ſuſpected it. Mean time he quarrelled not with his Daughter, but entertained her a pretty while, as he was wont to do; and at length told her, that he found her in a careleſs and leſs neat poſture; that it was convenient ſhe ſhould waſh her ſelf, and bath oftner; commanding preſently, with ſomewhat a ſtern countenance, that forthwith a Fire ſhould be made under that Chaudron, and he would not part thence, before the Eunuchs had brought him word, that that unhappy Man was diſpatched. Some time after ſhe took other meaſures, ſhe choſe for her *Kane-ſaman*, that is, her Steward, a certain *Perſian* called *Nazerkan*, who was a young *Omrah*, the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed of the whole Court, a

Man of Courage and Ambition, the Darling of all, insomuch that *Chah-Heskan*, Uncle of *Aureng-Zebe*, proposed to Marry him to the Princess: But *Chah-Jehan* received that proposition very ill, and besides, when he was informed of some of the secret Intrigues that had been formed, he resolved quickly to rid himself of *Nazerkan*. He therefore presented to him, as 'twere to do him honour, a *Betele*, which he could not refuse to chew presently, after the Custom of the Countrey. *Betele* is a little knot made up of very delicate leaves, and some other things, with a little Chalk of Sea-Cockles; which maketh the Mouth and Lips of a Vermilion colour, and the Breath sweet and pleasing. This young Lord thought of nothing less than being poysoned: He went away from the Company very jocund and content into his *Paleky*; but the Drug was so strong, that before he could come to his House, he was no more alive.

Rauchenara-Begum never passed for so hand-

handſome and ſpiritual as *Begum-Saheb*, but ſhe was not leſs cheerful, and comely enough, and hated pleaſures no more than her Siſter. But ſhe addicted her ſelf wholly to *Aureng-Zebe*, and conſequently declared her ſelf an Enemy to *Begum-Saheb* and *Dara*. This was the cauſe, that ſhe had no great Riches, nor any conſiderable ſhare in the Affairs of the State: Nevertheleſs as ſhe was in the *Seraglio*, and wanted no Wit and Spies, ſhe could not but diſcover many important Matters, of which ſhe gave ſecret advertiſement to *Aureng-Zebe*.

Chah-Jehan, ſome years before the Troubles, finding himſelf charged with theſe four Princes, all come to Age, all Married, all pretending to the Crown, Enemies to one another, and each of them making ſecretly a Party, was perplexed enough, as to what was fitteſt for him to do, fearing danger to his own Perſon, and foreſeeing what afterwards befell him: For, to ſhut them up in *Goualeor*, which is a Fortreſs where the Princes are ordi-

narily kept close, and which is held impregnable, it being situated upon an inaccessible Rock, and having within it self good water, and provision enough for a Garrison; *that* was not so easie a thing. They were too potent already, each of them having a Princely Train. And again, he could not handsomely remove them far off, without giving them some Government fit for their Birth; wherein he apprehended they would Cantonize themselves, and become little independent Kings; as actually they afterwards did. Nevertheless, fearing lest they should cut one anothers Throat before his Eyes, if he kept them still at Court, he at last concluded to send them away. And so he sent *Sultan Sujah*, his second Son, into the Kingdom of *Bengale*; his third, *Aureng-Zebe*, into *Decan*; and the youngest, *Morad-Bakche*, to *Guzaratte*; giving to *Dara*, the eldest, *Cabal* and *Multan*. The three first went away very well content with their Government; and there they

Acted

Acted each the Soveraign, and retained all the Revenues of their reſpective Countries, entertaining great Troops, under the pretence of bridling their Subjects and Neighbours. As to *Dara*, becauſe the eldeſt, and deſigned to the Crown, he ſtirred not from the Court; which that he ſhould not do, ſeemed alſo to be the intention of *Chah-Jehan*, who entertained him in the hopes of ſucceeding him after his Death. He even permitted then, that Orders were iſſued out by him, and that he might ſit in a kind of Throne, beneath his, among the *Omrahs*; ſo that it ſeemed, as if there were two Kings together. But as 'tis very difficult for two Soveraigns to agree, *Chah-Jehan*, though *Dara* ſhew'd him great Obſervance and Affection, always harbour'd ſome diffidence, fearing above all things the *Morſel*; and beſides, for as much as he knew the parts of *Aureng-Zebe*, and thought him more capable to Reign than any of the reſt, he had always (as they ſay) ſome particular correſpondence with him.

This it is, what I thought fit to premiſe concerning theſe four Princes, and their Father *Chah-Jehan*, becauſe 'tis neceſſary for the underſtanding of all that follows. I eſteem'd alſo, that I was not to forget thoſe two Princeſſes, as having been the moſt conſiderable Actors in the Tragedy; the Women in the *Indies* taking very often, as well as at *Conſtantinople* and in many other places, the beſt part in the moſt important Tranſactions, though Men take ſeldom notice of it, and trouble their heads of ſeeking for other Cauſes.

But to deliver this Hiſtory with clearneſs, we muſt riſe ſomewhat higher, and relate what paſſed, ſome time before the Troubles, between *Aureng-Zebe*, the King of *Golkonda*, and his Viſier *Emir-Jemla*; becauſe this will diſcover to us the Character and Temper of *Aureng-Zebe*, who is to be the *Heros* of this Piece, and the King of the *Indies*. Let us then ſee, after what manner *Emir-Jemla* proceeded, to lay the firſt foundation of the Royalty of *Aureng-Zebe*. Du-

During the time that *Aureng-Zebe* was in *Decan*, the King of *Golkonda* had for his Viſier and General of his Armies this *Emir-Jemla*, who was a *Perſian* by Nation, and very famous in the *Indies*. He was not a Man of great Extraction, but beaten in Buſineſs, a perſon of excellent parts, and a great Captain. He had the Wit of amaſſing great Treaſures, not only by the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of this opulent Kingdom, but alſo by Navigation and Trade, ſending ſhips into very many parts, and caufing the Diamond Mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence. So that people diſcourſed almoſt of nothing but of the Riches of *Emir-Jemla*, and of the plenty of his Diamonds, which were not reckon'd but by Sacks. He had alſo the skill to render himſelf very potent and conſiderable, entertaining, beſides the Armies of the King, very good Troops for his particular, and above all a very good Artillery, with abundance of

This it is, what I thought fit to premiſe concerning theſe four Princes, and their Father *Chah-Jehan*, becauſe 'tis neceſſary for the underſtanding of all that follows. I eſteem'd alſo, that I was not to forget thoſe two Princeſſes, as having been the moſt conſiderable Actors in the Tragedy; the Women in the *Indies* taking very often, as well as at *Conſtantinople* and in many other places, the beſt part in the moſt important Tranſactions, though Men take ſeldom notice of it, and trouble their heads of ſeeking for other Cauſes.

But to deliver this Hiſtory with clearneſs, we muſt riſe ſomewhat higher, and relate what paſſed, ſome time before the Troubles, between *Aureng-Zebe*, the King of *Golkonda*, and his Viſier *Emir-Jemla*; becauſe this will diſcover to us the Character and Temper of *Aureng-Zebe*, who is to be the *Heros* of this Piece, and the King of the *Indies*. Let us then ſee, after what manner *Emir-Jemla* proceeded, to lay the firſt foundation of the Royalty of *Aureng-Zebe*. Du-

During the time that *Aureng-Zebe* was in *Decan*, the King of *Golkonda* had for his Viſier and General of his Armies this *Emir-Jemla*, who was a *Perſian* by Nation, and very famous in the *Indies*. He was not a Man of great Extraction, but beaten in Buſineſs, a perſon of excellent parts, and a great Captain. He had the Wit of amaſſing great Treaſures, not only by the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of this opulent Kingdom, but alſo by Navigation and Trade, ſending ſhips into very many parts, and cauſing the Diamond Mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence. So that people diſcourſed almoſt of nothing but of the Riches of *Emir-Jemla*, and of the plenty of his Diamonds, which were not reckon'd but by Sacks. He had alſo the skill to render himſelf very potent and conſiderable, entertaining, beſides the Armies of the King, very good Troops for his particular, and above all a very good Artillery, with abundance of

Franguys or Christians to manage it. In a word, he grew so rich, and so puissant, especially after he had found a way to enter into the Kingdom of *Karnates*, and to pillage all the ancient Churches of the Idols of that Countrey, that the King of *Golkonda* became jealous of it, and prepared himself to unsaddle him; and that the more, because he could not bear what was reported of him, as if he had used too great familiarity with the Queen his Mother, that was yet beauteous. Yet he discover'd nothing of his Design to any, having patience, and waiting 'till *Emir* came to the Court, for he was then in the Kingdom of *Karnates* with his Army. But one day, when more particular News was brought him of what had passed between his Mother and Him, he had not power enough to dissemble any longer, but was transported by choler to fall to invectives and menaces: Whereof *Emir* was soon made acquainted, having at the Court abundance of his Wives Kindred, and all his

his neareſt Relations and beſt Friends poſſeſſing the principal Offices. The Kings Mother alſo, who did not hate him, had ſpeedy information of the ſame. Which obliged *Emir*, without delay, to write to his only Son, *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, who then was about the King, requiring him to do the beſt he could to withdraw with all ſpeed from the Court, under ſome pretence of Hunting, or the like, and to come and joyn with him. *Mahmet Emir-Kan* failed not to attempt divers ways; but, the King cauſing him to be narrowly obſerved, none of them all would ſucceed. This very much perplexed *Emir*, and made him take a ſtrange reſolution, which caſt the King in great danger to loſe his Crown and Life; ſo true 'tis, that *he who knows not to Diſſemble, knows not how to Reign.* He writ to *Aureng-Zebe*, who was then in *Daulet-Abad*, the Capital of *Decan*, about fifteen or ſixteen days Journey from *Golkonda*, giving him to underſtand, *that* the King of *Golkonda* did intend to ruin him and his Family,

not-

notwithstanding the signal Services he had done him, as all the World knew; which was an un-exampled Injustice and Ingratitude; *that* this necessitated him to take his refuge to him, and to intreat him, that he would receive him into his protection; *that*, for the rest, if he would follow his advice, and confide in him, he would so dispose Affairs, that he would at once put into his hands both the King and Kingdom of *Golkonda*. This thing he made very easie, using the following Discourse: You need but take four or five thousand Horse, of the best of your Army, and to March with Expedition to *Golkonda*, spreading a rumour by the way, that 'tis an Ambassadour of *Chah-Jehan* that goes in haste, about considerable Matters, to speak with the King at *Bag-nagnet*. The *Dabir*, who is he that is first to be addressed unto, to make any thing known unto the King, is allyed to me, and my Creature, and altogether mine; take care of nothing but to March with expedition, and I will so order it, that without making you

you known, you ſhall come to the Gates of *Bag-naguer*; and when the King ſhall come out to receive the Letters, according to cuſtome, you may eaſily ſeize on him, and afterwards of all his Family, and do with him what ſhall ſeem good to you; in regard that his Houſe of *Bag-naguer*, where he commonly reſides, is unwalled and unfortified. He added, *that* he would make this Enterpriſe upon his own Charges, offering him fifty thouſand *Roupies* a day (which is about five and twenty thouſand Crowns) during the whole time of the March.

Aureng-Zebe, who looked only for ſome ſuch occaſion, had no mind at all to loſe ſo fair an one. He ſoon undertook the Expedition, and did ſo fortunately manage his Enterpriſe, that he arrived at *Bag-naguer*, without being otherwiſe known than as an Ambaſſadour of *Chah-Jehan*. The King of *Golkonda* being advertiſed of the arrival of this pretended Ambaſſadour, came forth into a Garden, according to cuſtome, received him with honour,

nour, and having unfortunately put himſelf into the hands of his Enemy, ten or twelve Slaves, *Gurgis*, were ready to fall upon and to ſeize his perſon, as had been projected; but that a certain *Omrah*, touched with tenderneſs, could not forbear to cry out, though he was of the party, and a Creature of *Emir*, *Doth not your Majeſty ſee that this is* Aureng-Zebe? *Away, or you are taken.* Whereat the King being affrighted, ſlips away, and gets haſtily on horſeback, riding with all his might to the Fortreſs of *Golkonda*, which is but a ſhort League from thence.

Aureng-Zebe ſeeing he was defeated in his Deſign, yet was not therefore diſcompoſed; but ſeized at the ſame time on the Royal Houſe, taketh all the rich and good things he finds there; yet ſending to the King all his Wives (which over all the *Indies* is very religiouſly obſerved;) and goeth to Beſiege him in his Fortreſs. But as the Siege, for want of having brought along all Neceſſaries, held on long,

long, and lasted above two months, he received Order from *Chah-Jehan* to raise it, and to retire into *Decan* again; so that, although the Fortress was reduced to extremities, for want of Victuals and Ammunition of War, he found himself obliged to abandon his Enterprise. He knew very well, that it was *Dara* and *Begum* that had induced *Chah-Jehan* to send these Orders, from the apprehension they entertained, that he would become too powerful; but in the mean time he never discover'd any resentment of it, saying only, that he ought to obey the Orders of his Father. Yet he withdrew not, without causing underhand payment to be made to him of all the Charges of his Expedition: Besides, he Married his Son *Sultan Mahmoud* to the Eldest Daughter of that King, with a promise, that he would make him his Successor, causing him also to give him for a Dowry the Fortress and the Appurtenances of *Bamguyre*. He also made the King consent, that all the Silver Money, that should be

Coined

Coined for the future in that Kingdom, ſhould bear on one ſide the Arms of *Chah-Jehan*; and that *Emir-Jemla* ſhould withdraw with his whole Family, all his Goods, Troops, and Artillery.

Theſe two Great Men were not long together, but they framed great Deſigns: On the way they Beſieged and took *Bider*, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt important Places of *Viſapour*; and thence they went to *Daulet-Abad*, where they contracted ſo intimate a Friendſhip together, that *Aureng-Zebe* could not live without ſeeing *Emir* twice a day, nor *Emir* without ſeeing *Aureng-Zebe*. Their Union began to cauſe a new Face in all the Affairs of thoſe Parts, and laid the firſt foundations of the Royalty of *Aureng-Zebe*.

This Prince having uſed the Art to make himſelf to be called to the Court divers times, went with great and rich preſents to *Agra* to *Chah-Jehan*, preſenting him his Service, and inducing him to make War againſt the King

King of *Golkonda*, and him of *Viſapour*, and againſt the *Portugals*. At firſt he preſented to him that great Diamond, which is eſteem'd matchleſs; giving him to underſtand, that the precious ſtones of *Golkonda* were quite other things, than thoſe Rocks of *Kandahar*; that *there* it was, where the War ought to be made, to get the poſſeſſion thereof, and to go as far as *Cape Comory*. *Chah-Jehan*, whether it were that he was dazled by the Diamonds of *Emir*, or whether he thought it fit, as ſome believe he did, to have an Army in the Field, ſomewhat to reſtrain *Dara*, whom he found active in making himſelf potent, and who with inſolence had ill treated the Viſier *Sadullah-Kan* (whom *Chah-Jehan* paſſionately loved, and conſidered as the greateſt Stateſman that had been in the *Indies*) cauſing him even to be made away with poyſon, as a Man not of his party, but inclined to *Sultan Sujah*; or rather, becauſe he found him too powerful, and in a condition to be the Umpire of the Crown, if

Chah-

Chah-Jehan ſhould deceaſe; or laſtly, becauſe being neither *Perſian*, nor of *Perſian* Extraction, but an *Indian*, there were not wanting envious perſons, who ſpread abroad, that he entertained in divers places numerous Troops of *Patans*, very Gallant Men, and well paid, with a deſign to make himſelf King, or his Son; or at leaſt to expel the *Mogols*, and to reſtore to the Throne the Nation of the *Patans*, of whom he had taken his Wife. However it be, *Chah-Jehan* reſolved to ſend an Army towards *Decan* under the Conduct of *Emir-Jemla*.

Dara, who ſaw the conſequence of this Affair, and that the ſending of Troops for thoſe parts, was to give ſtrength to *Aureng-Zebe*, oppoſed it exceedingly, and did what he could to hinder it. Nevertheleſs, when he ſaw that *Chah-Jehan* was reſolute for it, he at laſt thought it beſt to conſent; but with this condition, that *Aureng-Zebe* ſhould keep in *Daulet-Abad*, as Governour only of the Countrey, without medling at all in the War,

War, or pretending to Govern the Army; that *Emir* ſhould be the abſolute General, who for a pledge of his Fidelity was to leave his whole Family at the Court. *Emir* ſtruggled enough within himſelf, whether he ſhould agree to this laſt condition, but when *Chah-Jehan* deſired him to give that ſatisfaction to *Dara*, and promiſed him, that after a little while he would ſend him back his Wife and Children, he conſented, and Marched into *Decan* towards *Aureng-Zebe* with a very Gallant Army, and without any ſtop entred into *Viſapour*, where he Beſieged a ſtrong place called *Kaliane*.

The Affairs of *Indoſtan* were in that condition, as I have been relating, when *Chah-Jehan* fell dangerouſly ſick. I ſhall not ſpeak here of his ſickneſs, much leſs relate the particulars of it. I ſhall only ſay this, that it was little ſutable to a Man of above ſeventy years of Age, who ſhould rather think on preſerving his ſtrength, than to ruin it, as he did. This ſickneſs did ſoon allarm and trouble all *Indoſtan*.

Mighty Armies were levied in *Dehly* and *Agra*, the Capitals of the Empire. *Sultan Sujah* did the like in *Bengale*; and *Aureng-Zebe* in *Decan*; and *Mord-Bakche* in *Guzaratte*: All four assembled to themselves their Allies and Friends; all four write, promise, and form divers Intrigues. *Dara* having surprised some of their Letters, shew'd them to *Chah-Jehan*, and made great noise about them; and his Sister *Begum* failed not to make use of this occasion, to animate the King against them. But *Chah-Jehan* was diffident of *Dara*, and fearing to be poysoned, gave order, that particular care should be had of what was brought to his Table. 'Twas also said, that he wrote to *Aureng-Zebe*; and that *Dara* being advertised thereof, could not forbear to menace, and to break into very passionate expressions. In the mean time the Distemper of *Chah-Jehan* lingred, and 'twas bruited every where, that he was dead. Whereupon the whole Court was disorder'd, the whole Town allarm'd, the Shops for many days

days ſhut up; and the four Sons of the King made openly great Preparations, each for himſelf: And to ſay truth, it was not without reaſon, that they all made ready for War; for they all very well knew, that there was no hopes of quarter, that there was no other way, than to vanquiſh or dye, to be King or undone, and that he that ſhould be Conquerour would rid himſelf of all the reſt, as formerly *Chah-Jehan* had done of his Brothers.

Sultan Sujah, who had heaped up great Treaſures in that rich Kingdom of *Bengale*, ruining ſome of the *Rajas* or petty Kings that are in thoſe parts, and drawing great Sums from others, took the Field firſt of all with a puiſſant Army, and in the confidence he had of all the *Perſian Omrahs*, for the Sect of whom he had declared himſelf, he boldly Marched towards *Agra*, giving out openly that *Chah-Jehan* was dead, that *Dara* had poyſon'd him, that he would revenge the death of his Father, and in a word, that he would be King. *Dara* deſired *Chah-*

Jehan to write himself to him, and to forbid him to advance further; which he did, assuring him, that his sickness was not at all dangerous, and that he was already much better. But he having Friends at Court, who assured him that the sickness of *Chah-Jehan* was mortal, he dissembled, and ceased not to advance, saying still, that he knew very well *Chah-Jehan* was dead; and if he should be alive, he was desirous to come and kiss his feet, and to receive his Commands.

Aureng-Zebe immediately after, if not at the same time, taketh the Field also in *Decan*, maketh a great noise, and prepareth to March towards *Agra*. The same prohibition was made to him also, as well from *Chah-Jehan*, as from *Dara*, who threaten'd him. But he dissembleth, for the same reason that *Sultan Sujah* had done, and giveth the like answer. Mean time, finding that his Treasure was low, and his Souldiery very inconsiderable, he devised two artifices, which succeeded admirably well; the one, in regard of

of *Morad-Bakche*; the other, in reſpect of *Emir-Jemla*. To *Morad-Bakche* he writes with ſpeed a very fair Letter, importing, *that* he had always been his true and intimate Friend; *that*, as for himſelf, he laid no claim at all to the Crown; *that* he might remember, he had all his Life time made profeſſion of a *Fakire*, but that *Dara* was a perſon incapable to Govern a Kingdom; *that* he was a *Kafer*, an Idolater, and hated of all the greateſt *Omrahs*; that *Sultan Sujah* was a *Rafezy*, an Heretick, and by conſequence an Enemy to *Indoſtan*, and unworthy of the Crown: So that, in a word, there was none but he *(Morad-Bakche)* that could reaſonably pretend to the Succeſſion; *that* the Crown did expect him; *that* the whole Court, which was not ignorant of his Valour, would be for him; and *that* for his particular, if he would promiſe him, that being King, he would give him leave to live quietly in ſome Corner or other of his Empire, there to ſerve God the remainder of his days, he

was ready to make a conjunction with him, to assist him with his Counsel and Friends, and to put into his hands his whole Army, to fight *Dara* and *Sultan Sujah*; that in the mean time he sent him an hundred thousand Rupies (which make about fifty thousand Crowns of our Money) and prayed him to accept thereof as a pledge of his friendship; and *that* he would advise him to come with all possible speed to seize on the Castle of *Suratte*, where he knew to be the Treasure of the Land.

Morad-Bakche, who was neither too rich nor too powerful, received with much joy this proposition of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the hundred thousand Rupies sent by him; and shew'd *Aureng-Zebe*'s Letter to every body, thereby to oblige the Flower of that Countrey to take up Arms for him, and the substantial Merchants to lend him the more willingly such Sums of Money as he demanded of them. He began in good earnest to Act the King, made large promises to all, and, in short,

ſhort, did ſo well, that he ſet a good Army on foot; of whom he ſingled out ſome three thouſand, who, under the Conduct of *Chah-Abas*, one of his Eunuchs, but a Valiant Man, ſhould go to Beſiege *Suratte*.

Aureng-Zebe ſent his Eldeſt Son, *Sultan Mahmoud*, (him whom he had Married to the Daughter of the King of *Golkonda*) to *Emir-Jemla*, who was yet employed in the Siege of *Kaliane*, to perſwade him to come to him to *Daulet-Abad*, pretending to have matter of the greateſt importance to communicate to him. *Emir*, who ſoon ſuſpected his intentions, excuſed himſelf, ſaying openly that *Chah-Jehan* was not dead, *that* he had freſh News of his being alive, and *that* beſides, all his Family being at *Agra* in the hands of *Dara*, he could by no means aſſiſt *Aureng-Zebe*, nor declare himſelf for him. Whereupon *Sultan Mahmoud* return'd to *Daulet-Abad*, without effecting any thing, and very much diſſatisfied with *Emir*. But *Aureng-Zebe* loſt no courage for all that, but

ſent the ſecond time to *Emir*, yet not *Sultan Mahmond*, but *Sultan Mazum* his Second Son, who preſented to him his Fathers Letter, and handled him with that dexterity, ſweetneſs, and proteſtation of friendſhip, that it was not poſſible to reſiſt him. *Emir* therefore preſſed the Siege of *Kaliane*, forced the Beſieged to Surrender upon Compoſition, took the choice of his Army, and with all diligence went away with *Sultan Mazum*. At his arrival, *Aureng-Zebe* courted him in the higheſt degree, treating him no otherwiſe than with the Name of *Baba* and *Babagy*, that is, Father, Lord-Father; and after an hundred embraces, he took him ſomewhat aſide, and told him (according to what I could learn from perſons who knew of it) That it was not juſt, that having his Family at the Court, he ſhould adventure to do any thing in his behalf that might come to be known; but that, after all, there was nothing ſo difficult but an expedient might be found. Give me leave therefore, *ſaid he*, to pro-

propoſe to you a Deſign, which at firſt will poſſibly ſurpriſe you; but, ſince you apprehend the danger of your Wife and Children that are in Hoſtage, the beſt way of providing for their ſecurity would be, to ſuffer me to ſeize on your perſon, and to put you in priſon. It is out of doubt, that all the World will believe it done in earneſt: For who would imagin, that ſuch a perſon as you would be content to let your ſelf be laid in priſon? In the interim, I could make uſe of part of your Army, and of your Artillery, as you ſhall judge moſt proper and convenient: You alſo could furniſh me with a Sum of Money, as you have frequently offered it; and beſides, methinks I might tempt Fortune further, and we might together take our meaſures, to ſee in what manner I had beſt to demean my ſelf; if you would alſo permit, that I might cauſe you to be tranſported into the Fortreſs of *Daulet-Abad*, where you ſhould be Maſter; and that there I might have you kept by my own Son,

Sultan

Sultan Mazum, or *Sultan Mahmoud*; this would yet better palliate the matter, and I see not, what *Dara* could justly say of it, nor how he could reasonably treat your Wife and Children ill.

Emir, whether it were by reason of the Friendship he had sworn to *Aureng-Zebe*, or for the great promises made to him, or the apprehension he had, of seeing near him *Sultan Mazum*, who stood by, very pensive and well armed, and *Sultan Mahmoud*, who looked grim upon him for his coming away at the sollicitation of his Brother, not at that of his, and had at his very entrance lift up his Foot as if he would have hit him; whatever of these considerations might induce him, consented to all what *Aureng-Zebe* desired, and approved of the Expedient to suffer himself to be imprison'd; so that *Aureng-Zebe* being no sooner gone, but the Great Master of the Artillery was seen to approach with some fierceness to *Emir*, and to command him in the Name of *Aureng-Zebe* to follow him, locking him up in a Chamber, and there

there giving him very good words, whilſt all the Souldiery, that *Aureng-Zebe* had thereabout, went to their Arms. The report of the detention of *Emir-Jemla* was no ſooner ſpread, but a great tumult aroſe; and thoſe, whom he had brought along with him, although aſtoniſh'd, yet put themſelves into a poſture of reſcuing him, and with their Swords drawn ran to force the Guards, and the Gate of his Priſon; which was eaſie for them to do: For *Aureng-Zebe* had not with him ſufficient Troops to make good ſo bold an Enterpriſe; the only Name of *Emir-Jemla* made all tremble. But the whole matter being altogether counterfeited, all theſe Commotions were preſently calmed *by* the intimations that were given to the Chief Officers of *Emir*'s Army, and *by* the preſence of *Aureng-Zebe*, who there appeared very reſolute with his two Sons, and ſpoke now to one, then to another; and at laſt *by* promiſes and preſents, liberally beſtowed on thoſe that were concerned. So that all the

Troops

Troops of *Emir*, and even moſt of thoſe of *Chah-Jehan*, ſeeing things troubled, and being without their General, and believing *Chah-Jehan* to be dead, or, at beſt, deſperately ſick; conſidering alſo the ample promiſes made to them of augmenting their Stipend, and of giving them at that very time three months advance, ſoon liſted themſelves under *Aureng-Zebe*; who having ſeized on all the Equipage of *Emir*, even his very Camels and Tents, took the Field, reſolved to March to the Siege of *Suratte*, and to haſten the taking it in; where *Morad-Bakche* was exceedingly embarraſſed, becauſe that his beſt Troops were employed there, and that he found more reſiſtance in that place than he imagined. But *Aureng-Zebe*, after ſome days March, was informed, that the Governour had ſurrendred the Place; for which he ſent Congratulations to *Morad-Bakche*, acquainting him with all of his Tranſactions with *Emir-Jemla*, and aſſuring him, *that* he had Forces and Money enough, and very good

good Intelligence at the Court; *that* nothing was wanting; *that* he was directly going to *Brampour* and *Agra*; *that* he had expected him on the way, and therefore desired him to joyn with him.

'Tis true, that *Morad-Bakche* found not so much Money in the Fortress of *Suratte* as he had imagined, whether it were that really there was not so much as was reported, or whether the Governour had diverted a part of it, as some believed: Yet notwithstanding that little he found there was useful to him, to pay the Souldiers that had listed themselves in hopes of the advantages, they should make of the imagined vast Treasure of *Suratte*. 'Tis not less true, that he had no greater reason to boast of the taking of this Place, in regard there was not any Regular Fortification about it; and yet his Army had lain before it above a month, and would never have reduced it without the *Hollanders*, who furnish'd them with the Invention of Springing a Mine, which

which ruining a great ſide of the Wall, caſt the Beſieged into ſuch a conſternation, that it made them immediately ſurrender. The reduction of this Town did much advance his Deſign, Fame proclaiming immediately throughout theſe Countries, that *Morad-Bakche* had taken *Suratte*; that he had ſprung a Mine, which ſounded very big among the *Indians*, who as yet do little underſtand that practice; and that *there* he had found a vaſt Treaſure. Notwithſtanding this great noiſe, and all the firſt advantages, joyned to all thoſe frequent Letters and great Promiſes of *Aureng-Zebe*, the Eunuch *Chah-Abas*, a Man of good Senſe, of a great Heart, and exceedingly affectionate to the Service of his Maſter, was not of opinion, that *Morad-Bakche* ſhould ſo much tye himſelf in intereſt to *Aureng-Zebe*, or precipitate his conjunction with him, but adviſed, that he ſhould amuſe him with words, and let him advance alone towards *Agra*; that in the mean time there would come certain News

of

of the ſickneſs of *Chah-Jehan*; that he ſhould firſt ſee, what Channel Affairs would run in; that he ſhould Fortifie *Suratte*, as a very good Poſt, able to render him Maſter of a very large and rich Countrey; and that perhaps in time he might ſeize *Brampour*, which is a very conſiderable Paſſage of a River, and as 'twere a Bar of *Decan*. But the continual Letters and Proteſtations of *Aureng-Zebe*, joyned to the ſmall Forces, Artillery, and Treaſure of *Morad-Bakche*, blinded with an exceſſive ambition to Reign, made him regardleſs of all other conſiderations; ſo that he went away from *Amadevad*, abandon'd *Guzaratte*, and took his way through the Woods and Mountains, with all expedition, to be at the Rendevouz, where *Aureng-Zebe* had looked for him theſe two or three days.

Great Solemnities of Joy were made at the conjunction of the two Armies, the Princes viſited one another, *Aureng-Zebe* made a hundred proteſtations and no leſs promiſes to *Morad-Backche*,

Bakche, assured him afresh, and solemnly, of his not caring for the Crown, as also of his being there for no other end than to assist him against *Dara*, their Common Enemy, and to place him in the Throne, which expected him.

Upon this Enterview, and confirmation of Friendship, both Armies Marched together, *Aureng-Zebe* continuing always, during the March, in the protestations of Friendship, and in his Courtship to *Morad-Bakche*, treating him never otherwise, whether in publick or private, but with the Title of *Hazaret*, that is, King and Majesty: So that *Morad-Bakche* was fully perswaded, that *Aureng-Zebe* meant sincerely, from an excess of affection towards him; whence he even willingly, and without ceremony, suffer'd the submissions and respects he shew'd him; instead of remembring what had lately passed at *Golkonda*, and of considering, that he, who had thus hazarded himself with so much boldness to usurp a Kingdon, was not

not of a temper to live and dye a *Fakire*.

These two Armies thus joyned made a Body considerable enough; which begot a great noise at Court, and gave cause of thoughtfulness; not only to *Dara*, but to *Chah-Jehan* himself, who knew the great parts and subtle Conduct of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the Courage of *Morad-Bakche*; and who foresaw very well, that a Fire was a kindling, which would be very hard to quench. It was to no purpose to write Letters upon Letters, signifying that he was well, and giving Order that they should turn back to their respective Governments, and expressing also, that he would forget all that had passed hitherto. All his *Letters* were not able to hinder their advance; and as the sickness of *Chah-Jehan* did still pass for mortal, there being no persons wanting to bring and spread such News, they still continued to dissemble, giving out, that they were *Letters* counterfeited by *Dara*; that *Chah-Jehan* was dead indeed; but that, in

case he were alive, they would go to kiss his Feet, and deliver him from the hands of *Dara*.

What then should *Chah-Jehan*, this unfortunate King, do, who seeth, that his Sons have no regard to his Orders; who is informed at all hours, that they march apace towards *Agra* in the head of their Armies, and who in this conjuncture finds himself sick to boot in the hands of *Dara*, that is, of a man who breatheth nothing but War; who prepareth for it with all imaginable earnestness, and with all the marks of an enraged resentment against his Brothers? But what could he do in this extremity? He is constrained to abandon to them his Treasures, and to leave them to their disposal. He is forced to send for his old and most trusty Captains, whom he knows for the most part to be not very affectionate to *Dara*; he must command them to fight for *Dara*, against his own Blood, his own Children, and those, for whom he hath more esteem than for *Dara*; he is obliged

liged forthwith to ſend an Army a-gainſt *Sultan Sujah*, becauſe 'tis he that is moſt advanced; and he is to ſend another againſt *Aureng-Zebe* and *Mo-rad-Bakche*, who no leſs are marching towards him.

Soliman Chekouh, the eldeſt Son of *Dara*, a young Prince of about Five and twenty years of Age, very proper of Body, and of good Parts and Con-duct, generous, liberal, and univer-ſally beloved, eſpecially of *Chah-Jehan*, who had already enriched him, and who conſidered *him* rather for his Suc-ceſſour than *Dara*, was he, that was made General of this Army againſt *Sujah*. Nevertheleſs *Chah-Jehan*, who wiſhed much rather, that *Sujah* were return'd to *Bengale*, than that the mat-ter ſhould be tryed by a bloody Com-bat, which could not be but very Tragical, and wherein he run the hazard of loſing one or other of his Sons, gave him for Companion an Ancient *Raja*, called *Jeſſeigne*, who is at preſent one of the powerfulleſt and richeſt *Rajas* of all *Indoſtan*, and one

of the ableſt in the whole Kingdom, with a ſecret Order not to fight, except it were altogether unavoidable; as alſo to endeavour by all means to induce *Sujah* to retire, and to reſerve his Forces for a better occaſion; that is to ſay, after they ſhould have ſeen the event of the ſickneſs of *Chah-Jehan*, and the ſucceſs of *Aureng-Zebe*, and of *Morad-Bache*. But this young Prince, *Soliman Chekouh*, full of heat and courage, breathing after nothing but to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action, and *Sultan Sujah* fearing leſt *Aureng-Zebe* gaining a Battel ſhould firſt make himſelf Maſter of the Capital Towns of the Empire, *Agra* and *Dehly*; it was impoſſible for the *Raja Jeſſeigne* to keep them from a Combat. The two Armies are no ſooner in ſight of one another, but they prepare to fall on, and they were not long from giving ſome Vollies of Cannon. I ſhall not relate the particulars of this Fight, for, beſides that the narration of it would be too long and tedious, in the ſequel of this Hiſtory we ſhall be obliged

liged to deſcribe more conſiderable ones, by which the Reader will be able to judge of this. 'Tis ſufficient to know in general, that the firſt onſet was very ſharp and obſtinate on both ſides, but that at length *Soliman Chekouh* did urge *Sujah* with that force and vigour, that he diſorder'd him, and made him fly: So that if *Jeſſeigne*, and the *Patan Delil-kan*, who was one of the firſt Captains and a valiant Man, but an intimate Friend of the *Raja*, and did not act but being moved by him, had ſeconded him in good earneſt, 'tis thought that the whole Army of *Sujah* would have been defeated, and himſelf in danger of being taken: But that was not the Deſign of the *Raja* to deſtroy him, no more than it was that of *Chah-Jehan*, who had given him order to the contrary. Thus then had *Sujah* time to retreat, and that without loſing any conſiderable number of his Men; yet becauſe *Soliman Chekouh* kept the field, and brought away ſome pieces of Artillery, it was preſently bruited at Court,

that *Sujah* had been totally overthrown. This Defeat purchased great reputation to *Soliman Chekouh*, lessen'd much the esteem of *Sultan Sujah*, and cooled exceedingly all the *Persians* that had an inclination for him.

After that some days were spent in the pursuit of *Sujah*, the Prince *Soliman Chekouh*, who every day received News from the Court, and who learned, that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* did approach with great resolution, well knowing, that his Father *Dara* had no great stock of prudence, but good store of secret Enemies, resolved to quit the pursuit of *Sultan Sujah*, and with all speed to return to *Agra*, where in all appearance *Dara* was to give Battel against *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*. This was the best counsel he could take, for no man doubts, that if he could have been there in good time, *Aureng-Zebe* would not have had the advantage; and 'tis even believed, he would never have hazarded the Combat, the party being too unequal; but the bad fortune of *Dara* did not permit it. Whilst

Whilſt all that was thus tranſacted toward *Elabas*, which is the place where the *Gemna* is joyned to *Ganges*; the Scene was very different on the ſide of *Agra*. At the Court they were much ſurpriſed to hear, that *Aureng-Zebe* had paſſed the River of *Brampour*, and all the other paſſages that were moſt difficult between the Mountains; ſo that with all haſte they ſent away ſome Troops to diſpute with him the paſſage of the River *Eugenes*, whilſt the whole Army was making ready. For which purpoſe, there were choſen two of the moſt conſiderable and the moſt powerful of the Kingdom to command it; the one was *Kaſem-Kan*, a renowned Captain and very affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, but one that had no great inclination to *Dara*, and who went not but to oblige *Chah-Jehan*, whom he ſaw in the hands of *Dara*: The other was *Jeſſomſeigne*, a potent *Raja*, not inferiour to *Jeſſeigne*, and Son-in-law to that *Raja Rana*, who was at the time of *Ekbar* ſo puiſſant, as if he had been the Emperour of the *Raja's*. *Dara*

at their farewel expreſſed to them great kindneſs, and preſented them nobly; but *Chah Jehan* took his time, before their departure, to charge them in ſecret, as he had done the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, when he went away in the Expedition againſt *Sultan Suiah* with *Soliman Chekouh*. Neither were they wanting, in their March, to ſend ſeveral times to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, to perſwade them to turn back: But this was in vain; their Envoys came not again, and the Army advanced with that diligence, that they ſaw it much ſooner than they thought upon a riſing ground, not far remote from the River.

It being then Summer, and the ſeaſon of the greateſt heats, the River was fordable; which was the cauſe, that at the ſame time *Kaſem-Kan* and the *Raja* prepared themſelves to give Battel; beſides that, they ſoon knew the reſolution of *Aureng-Zebe*, that he would force them, ſince that, although his Army was not all come up, he gave them ſome Vollies of Cannon;

non; his deſign being to amuſe them, fearing leſt they themſelves ſhould paſs the River, not only to prevent his paſſage, but alſo to hinder his Army from repoſing, and from taking an advantageous poſt; which was indeed in great diſorder, and ſo tired by their March, and ſo faint by the heat, that if at the very firſt it had been aſſaulted, and kept from paſſing the Water, it would doubtleſs have been routed without much reſiſtance. [I was not by in this firſt Encounter, but thus it was generally diſcourſed of, and it agreeth with the after-relation of many of our *French-men*, who ſerved *Aureng-Zebe* in the Artillery.] But they were content to ſtay at the River-ſide, to keep *Aureng-Zebe* from paſſing it, according to the Order they had received.

After that *Aureng-Zebe* had let his Army reſt two or three days, and by amuſing the Enemy, had fitted it to paſs the River, he made his whole Artillery play, which was very well placed; and he commanded, that under

the favour of the Cannon they ſhould paſs the River. *Kaſem-Kan* and the *Raja*, on their part, diſcharged theirs alſo, and did what they could to repulſe the Enemy, and to keep him from paſſing. The Combat was ſharp enough at firſt, and very obſtinately maintained by the extraordinary Valour of *Jeſſomſeigne*. For as to *Kaſem-Kan*, although a great Captain, and a ſtout Man, he gave no great proof of his Valour in this occaſion; yea, ſome accuſe him of Treachery, charging him that he had in the night cauſed the Bullets and Powder to be hid under the Sand, there being no more of them to be found after two or three diſcharges. However it be, the Combat for all that was, as I ſaid, very reſolutely carried on, and the paſſage long diſputed. There were Rocks in the Bed of the River, which did much embaraſs, and the Banks in many places were very high and difficult to climb up. But at laſt, *Morad-Bakche* caſt himſelf into the water with ſo much reſolution and force, and

ſhew'd

ſhew'd ſo much valour and boldneſs, that there was no reſiſting of him. He paſſed over, and with him a good part of the Army, which made *Kaſem-Kan* to give back, and caſt *Jeſſomſeigne* into great danger of his perſon. For by and by he found the whole Body of the Enemy upon him, and without the extraordinary reſolution of his *Ragipous*, who almoſt all were killed about him, he had been a dead man. One may judge of the great danger he was in upon this occaſion, by this, that after he had diſengaged himſelf as well as he could, and was come back to his own, not daring to return to *Agra*, becauſe of the great loſs he had ſuffered, of ſeven or eight thouſand *Ragipous* he had but five or ſix hundred of them remaining.

Theſe *Ragipous*, who take their name from the *Rajas*, that is to ſay, the Children of the *Rajas*, are from Father to Son ſuch Men as make the Sword their Profeſſion. The *Rajas*, whoſe Subjects they are, do aſſign them Lands for their ſubſiſtence, on condition to be

be always ready to go to War when ſummoned. So that one might ſay, that they were a ſort of Pagan Nobles, if the *Rajas* gave them their Lands in propriety for them and their Children. They are great takers of *Opium*; and I have ſometimes wondred at the quantity I have ſeen them take: They accuſtom themſelves to it from their youth. On the day of Battel they double the Doſe, this Drug animating, or rather inebriating them, and making them inſenſible of danger; inſomuch that they caſt themſelves into the Combat like ſo many furious Beaſts, not knowing what it is to run away, but dying at the feet of their *Raja*, when he ſtands to it. They want nothing but Order, Reſolution they have enough. 'Tis a pleaſure thus to ſee them, with the fume of *Opium* in their head, to embrace one another, when the Battel is to begin, and to give their mutual Farewels, as Men reſolved to dye. And that they do for this reaſon; that the *Great Mogol*, though a *Mahumetan*, and by conſequence

ſequence an Enemy of the Heathen, yet for all that entertains always a good number of *Rajas* in his ſervice, whom he conſiders as his other *Omrahs*, and imploys in his Armies as if they were *Mahumetans*.

I cannot forbear to relate here the fierce reception, which the Daughter of the *Rana* gave to her Husband *Jeſſomſeigne*, after his defeat and flight. When ſhe heard that he was nigh, and had underſtood what had paſſed in the Battel; that he had fought with all poſſible courage, that he had but four or five hundred Men left; and that at laſt, not being able to reſiſt any longer the Enemy, he had been obliged to retreat: She, in ſtead of ſending one to receive him, and to conſole him in his misfortunes, commanded in a dry mood to ſhut the Gates of the Caſtle, and not to let this infamous Man enter; that he was not her Husband; that ſhe would never ſee him; that the Son-in-law of the Great *Rana*, could not have ſo low a Soul; that he was to remember, that

that being grafted into ſo Illuſtrious an Houſe, he was to imitate the Virtue of it; and, in a word, that he was either to vanquiſh or to dye. A moment after ſhe was of another humour; ſhe commands a Pile of Wood to be laid, that ſhe might burn her ſelf, that they abus'd her; that her Husband muſt needs be dead; that it could not be otherwiſe. And a little while after this, ſhe was ſeen to change her countenance, to fall into paſſion, and to break out into a thouſand reproaches againſt him. In ſhort, ſhe remained thus tranſported eight or nine days, without being able to reſolve to ſee her Husband, 'till at laſt her Mother coming in, brought her in ſome degree to her ſelf, and comforted her, aſſuring her, that as ſoon as the *Raja* had but a little refreſh'd himſelf, he would raiſe another Army, to fight *Aureng-Zebe*, and repair his Honour at any rate.

By which ſtory one may ſee a pattern of the Courage of the Women in that Countrey: To which I could add

add ſomething I have ſeen ſome of them do, who burned themſelves alive after the death of their Husbands; but we muſt reſerve this Diſcourſe for another place, where I ſhall alſo ſhew, that there is nothing which opinion, prepoſſeſſion, cuſtom, hope, and the point of honour, *&c.* may not make Men do or ſuffer.

Dara having underſtood what had paſſed at *Eugenes*, fell into that choler againſt *Kàſem-Kan*, that it was thought he would have cut off his Head, if he had been upon the place. He was alſo tranſported againſt *Emir-Jemla*, as the Perſon that was the firſt and principal Cauſe of the Misfortune, and who had furniſh'd *Aureng-Zebe* with Men, Money, and Cannon. He is ready to kill his Son *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, and will ſend his Wife and Daughter to *Baſar*, or the Market-place of proſtituted Women; and 'tis paſt doubt, that he would have done ſome ſuch thing, if *Chah-Jehan*, with much art and prudence, had not moderated the exceſs of his paſſion, in remon-

remonstrating to him, that *Emir-Jemla* had not so little conduct, nor so great a Friendship for *Aureng-Zebe*, as to hazard, and in a manner to sacrifice his Family, for the advancing of his Interest; that *Aureng-Zebe* must needs have gulled and ensnared him, by his usual artifice and cunning.

As for *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, the happy success of this first Encounter did so swell their hearts, and gave such Courage to their whole Army, that henceforth they believed themselves invincible, and capable to compass any thing. Besides, *Aureng-Zebe*, the more to animate his Souldiers, bragged openly, that he had Thirty thousand *Mogols* at his devotion in the Army of *Dara*; and there was something in it, as appeared by the sequel. *Morad-Bakche* was for nothing but fighting, and would march with all diligence. But *Aureng-Zebe* represented to him, that it was necessary the Army should refresh themselves for some time upon the Banks of this sweet River; that in the mean time he

he would write to all his Friends, and get a full and certain information of the ſtate of the Court, and of the condition of all Affairs. So that he marched not towards *Agra*, 'till he had reſted ſome days, and after that he marched but ſlowly, to inform himſelf of all, and to take his time and meaſures.

Concerning *Chah-Jehan*, when he plainly ſaw the reſolution of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*; and that there was no hope left to make them turn back, he was in ſuch a perplexity, that he knew not what to reſolve, and foreſeeing ſome great calamity, he would fain have hindred the laſt deciſive Battel, for which he ſaw *Dara* preparing himſelf with great eagerneſs. But what could he do to oppoſe it? He was yet too weak of his ſickneſs, and ſaw himſelf ſtill in the hands of *Dara*, whom, as I have ſaid, he truſted not much: So that he found himſelf obliged to acquieſce in his Will, and to commit to him all the Forces of the Empire, and to

command all Captains to obey him. Immediately all was in Arms: I know not, whether there was ever a more gallant Army seen in *Indostan*. 'Tis said, that there were little less than an hundred thousand Horse, and twenty thousand Foot, with four thousand peeces of Cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of Servants, Followers, Victuallers, whom Historians me thinks do often put into the number of the Combatants, when they speak of those formidable Armies of three or four hundred thousand Men, of which their Books are full. Though this Army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as *Aureng-Zebe* had, in which there were no more than thirty five or forty thousand Men in all, and these tired and harassed by a very long and irksom March, during the height of the Heats; and but a small number of Cannon, in respect of that of *Dara*. Mean time (which seems hard to believe) there was scarce any Body that presaged well for *Dara*, all knowing, that

that moſt of the chief *Omrahs* had no affection for him, and that all the good Souldiers that were for him, and whom he might confide in, were in the Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son. And 'twas for this reaſon, that the moſt prudent and the moſt faithful of his Friends, and *Chah-Jehan* himſelf, counſelled him, not to hazard a Battel: *Chah-Jehan* offering, as infirm as he was, that he would go into the Field himſelf, and be carried before *Aureng-Zebe*, to interpoſe; which was looked upon as a very good Expedient for Peace, and for accomodating the Affairs of *Chah-Jehan*. For 'tis certain, that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, would never have had the boldneſs to fight againſt their own Father; and if they ſhould have attempted it, they would have ſmarted for it, becauſe, beſides that the match was not equal, and all the great *Omrahs* were ſo affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, that they would not have failed to fight reſolutely, if they had ſeen him in the head of the Army; beſides this,

command all Captains to obey him. Immediately all was in Arms: I know not, whether there was ever a more gallant Army seen in *Indostan*. 'Tis said, that there were little less than an hundred thousand Horse, and twenty thousand Foot, with four thousand peeces of Cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of Servants, Followers, Victuallers, whom Historians me thinks do often put into the number of the Combatants, when they speak of those formidable Armies of three or four hundred thousand Men, of which their Books are full. Though this Army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as *Aureng-Zebe* had, in which there were no more than thirty five or forty thousand Men in all, and these tired and harassed by a very long and irksom March, during the height of the Heats; and but a small number of Cannon, in respect of that of *Dara*. Mean time (which seems hard to believe) there was scarce any Body that presaged well for *Dara*, all knowing,

that

that moſt of the chief *Omrahs* had no affection for him, and that all the good Souldiers that were for him, and whom he might conſide in, were in the Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son. And 'twas for this reaſon, that the moſt prudent and the moſt faithful of his Friends, and *Chah-Jehan* himſelf, counſelled him, not to hazard a Battel: *Chah-Jehan* offering, as infirm as he was, that he would go into the Field himſelf, and be carried before *Aureng-Zebe*, to interpoſe; which was looked upon as a very good Expedient for Peace, and for accomodating the Affairs of *Chah-Jehan*. For 'tis certain, that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, would never have had the boldneſs to fight againſt their own Father; and if they ſhould have attempted it, they would have ſmarted for it, becauſe, beſides that the match was not equal, and all the great *Omrahs* were ſo affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, that they would not have failed to fight reſolutely, if they had ſeen him in the head of the Army; beſides this,

I say, the Captains themselves of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, bore great affection and respect to this Prince, whose Creatures they most were; and the whole Army, in a manner, was his. So that in all appearance, not one of them would have presumed to draw his Sword against him, nor he been at the pains of drawing his.

Then they advised *Dara*, that if he would not hearken to this Expedient, he should at least not precipitate the business, but delay, 'till *Soliman Chekouh*, who made all haste to joyn, were come in. Which was also very good counsel, in regard that that Prince was beloved of all, and was lately come home victorious, and had the most faithful and the bravest Souldiers with him. But *Dara* would never hearken to any proposition that could be made to him, and he thought on nothing else but to give Battel presently, and to go against *Aureng-Zebe* in person. And possibly he did not amiss, as to his own Honour

nour and particular Intereſt, if he could have commanded Fortune, and made things ſucceed as he contrived them. For the Conſiderations he had (as he could not forbear now and then to diſcover) were ſome ſuch as theſe:

He looked upon himſelf as Maſter of the Perſon of *Chah-Jehan*; that he could diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed; that he was alſo Poſſeſſor of all the Treaſures and Forces of the Empire; that *Sultan Sujah* was half ruined; that his two other Brothers, with a weak and tired Army, were come to caſt themſelves into his hands; that, if he gained the Battel, they could not eſcape him; that he ſhould all at once be abſolute Maſter, and at the end of all his troubles, and at the height of his wiſhes, ſo as no body could contradict him in any thing, or diſpute the Crown with him. Whereas if *Chah-Jehan* ſhould take the Field, all Affairs would be accommodated, his Brothers would return to their Governments, *Chah-Jehan*, who began to recover his health, would reſume

the Government as before, and all things would return into their first channel: That, if he should stay for *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son, *Chah-Jehan* might take some Design to his disadvantage, or contrive something with *Aureng-Zebe*; that whatever he could do for gaining the Victory, the Reputation, which *Soliman Chekouh* had purchased, would still give him all the honour of it. And after that, what would not he be capable to undertake, swelled with so much glory and success, and especially being supported, as he was, by the favour and affection of *Chah-Jehan*, and of the greatest part of the *Omrahs*? What did he know, whether he would keep any modesty, or any respect for him, and whether his Ambition might not carry him?

These Considerations made *Dara* resolve to stand out against the counsel of all, and to pursue his point. And for that purpose, he commanded immediately the whole Army to take the Field, and thereupon came to take leave

leave of *Chah-Jehan*, who was in the Fortreſs of *Agra*. This good old Man was ready to melt in tears, when he embraced him; but withall failed not to repreſent to him, with a very grave countenance: Well, *Dara*, ſince thou art reſolved to follow thine own will, go, God bleſs thee, but remember well theſe few words; *If thou loſeſt the Battel, take heed of ever coming into my Preſence.* But this made no great impreſſion upon him; he goeth forth briskly, taketh horſe, and ſeizeth on the Paſſage of the River *Tchembel*, which is about Twenty Miles from *Agra*; where he fortified himſelf, expecting his Enemy. But the ſubtile and crafty *Pakire*, who wanted no good Spies, and people that gave him intelligence of all, and who knew that the Paſſage was there very difficult, took good heed to attempt the forcing it. He came to encamp himſelf near it, ſo that from the Camp of *Dara* one might diſcover his Tents. But what doth he in the mean time? He inveagles a certain Rebel of *Raja*,

called *Chempet*, preſents him richly, and promiſeth him a thouſand fine things, if he would let him paſs thorough his Territories, that ſo he might go with ſpeed to gain a certain place, where he knew that the River might be paſſed on foot with eaſe. *Chempet* agreeth, and offers of his own accord, that he would himſelf attend him, and ſhew him the way through the Woods and Hills of his Countrey. *Aureng-Zebe* raiſed his Camp the ſame night, without any noiſe, leaving ſome of his Tents to amuſe *Dara*, and marching night and day, made ſuch haſte, that he was almoſt as ſoon on the other ſide of the River, as *Dara* could have notice of it. Which obliged *Dara* to abandon the River there, and to leave all his Fortifications, and to follow his Enemy, who, he was told, did advance with great diligence towards *Agra*, to gain the River of *Gemna*, and there without trouble, and at his eaſe, to enjoy the water, to fortifie, and to fix himſelf well, and ſo to expect *Dara*. The place where

where he encamped is but five leagues from *Agra*, it was formerly called *Samonguer*, and now *Fateabad*, which is to ſay, *Place of Victory*. A little while after, *Dara* alſo came to encamp there, nigh the Bank of the ſame River, between *Agra* and the Army of *Aureng-Zebe*,

The two Armies were there between three and four days in ſight of one another, without fighting. Mean time *Chah-Jehan* wrote ſeveral Letters to *Dara*, that *Soliman Chekouh* was not far off; that he ſhould not precipitate; that he ſhould come near *Agra*, and chuſe an advantageous place to fortifie himſelf 'till he came. But *Dara* anſwer'd, that before three days were paſſed, he would bring to him *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* tyed hand and foot, to do with them what he ſhould think fit. And without expecting any longer, he began at that very hour to put his Army in Battel array.

He placed in the Front all his Cannon, cauſing them to be tyed the one to the other with Chains, to ſhut

the

the passage to the Cavalry. Behind these Peeces of Cannon, he placed also front-wise a great number of light Camels, on the forepart of the Bodies whereof they fasten a small Peece, of the bigness of a double Musquet; a Man sitting on the hind-part of the Camel, being able to charge and discharge without lighting. Behind these Camels stood the greatest part of the Musqueteers. Of the rest of the Army, which chiefly consisted in Cavalry, furnish'd with Bows and Arrows, (as ordinarily are the *Mogols*, that is, at present, white Men, Mahumetans, strangers, as *Persians*, *Turks*, *Arabians*, and *Usbecks*;) or with a Sword, and a kind of Half-pike, as commonly are the *Ragipous*: Of all these, I say, there were made three different Bodies. The right Wing was committed to *Calil-ullah-Kan*, with Thirty Thousand *Mogols* under his Command; for he was made Great *Bakchis*, that is, Great Master of the Cavalry, in the place of *Danechmend-Kan*, that was afterwards my *Agah*, who

who voluntarily reſigned this Office, ſeeing that he was not well beloved of *Dara*, for having always highly maintained againſt him the Intereſt and Authority of *Chah-Jehan*. The left Wing was given to *Ruſtam-Kan Dakny*, a very renowned and very valiant Captain, together with the *Raja Chatreſale*, and the *Raja Ramſeigne Routlé*.

On the other ſide, *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* put alſo their Army almoſt into the ſame Order; except that in the midſt of the Troops of ſome *Omrahs*, they had hid ſome ſmall Field-Peeces, which was, as was ſaid, after the way and Art of *Emir-Jemla*, and with no ill effect.

They hardly made uſe of any more Art, than what hath been now related; only they placed here and there ſome Men caſting *Bannes*, which is a kind of Granado faſtened to a ſtick, that may be caſt very far through the Cavalry, and which extremely terrifieth Horſes, and even hurts and kills ſometimes.

All

All this Cavalry turns about very eaſily, and they draw their Arrows with marvellous ſwiftneſs; one Man being able to draw ſix of them, before a Muſqueteer can twice diſcharge his Muſquet. The ſame Cavalry keeps alſo very cloſe in ſeveral Troops under their reſpective Officers, eſpecially when they are going to fight hand to hand. But after all, I ſee not, that this way of putting an Army in array, is any great matter, in compariſon of our Armies, when in good order.

All things being thus diſpoſed, the Artillery began to play on both ſides; for 'tis always the Cannon that makes the prelude amongſt *them*; and the Arrows were now ſeen to fly through the Air, when unexpectedly there happen'd to fall a Storm of Rain, ſo violent, that it interrupted the Combat. The Rain ceaſing, the Cannon began afreſh to roar; and then it was that *Dara* appeared, who being mounted upon a proud Elephant of *Ceilan*, commanded that an Onſet ſhould be made on all ſides; and himſelf advanced into

into the midſt of the Body of the Cavalry, directly towards the Enemies Artillery, who received him warmly, kill'd ſtore of Men about him, and put into diſorder, not only the Main Body which he commanded, but alſo the other Bodies of the Cavalry that followed him. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe he was ſeen to keep firm upon his Elephant, without any appearance of giving back, and was obſerved to look every where about him with an undaunted look, and to make ſigns with his hands to advance and to follow him, this diſorder ſoon ceaſed, every one reſuming his Rank, and advancing in the ſame pace with *Dara*. But he could not reach the Enemy, without receiving another Volley of Cannon-ſhot, which cauſed a ſecond and great diſorder in his Men, and made a good part of them recoyl; yet he, without any change in his countenance, ſtood to it, encouraging his Troops, and gave ſtill ſigns, that they ſhould follow him, and advance with ſpeed without any

loſs

loſs of time. Thus preſſing vigorouſly forward, he forced the Enemies Artillery, broke the Chains, entred into their Camp, and made a Rout in their Camels and Infantry, and in every thing he met with on that ſide; opening alſo a good paſſage to the Cavalry that followed him. Then it was, that the Enemies Cavalry facing him, a ſore Combat began. A ſhowre of Arrows fill'd the Air from both ſides, *Dara* himſelf putting his hand to that work: But, to ſay truth, theſe Arrows do but little execution; more of them are loſt in the Air, or broken on the ground, than hit. The firſt Diſcharges of Arrows being made, they fought hand to hand with their Sables, *peſle meſle*, and the Combat was ſtoutly maintain'd on both ſides. *Dara* is ſtill ſeen to continue firm on his Elephant, encouraging, making a noiſe, and giving ſigns on all ſides; and at laſt advancing with ſo much reſolution and force, againſt all that oppoſed him in his March, that he overthrew the Cavalry, and made them to retire and run away.

An-

Aureng-Zebe, who was not far from thence, and mounted alſo on an Elephant, ſeeing this great diſorder, was in great trouble, and laboured with all his might to remedy it; but to no purpoſe. He made the Main Body of his beſt Cavalry advance, to try whether he could make head againſt *Dara*; but it was not long before this Body alſo was forced to give back, and to retreat in great diſorder, whatever *Aureng-Zebe* could ſay or do to hinder it. Mean time let us take notice of his courage and reſolution: He ſaw that almoſt the whole Body of his Army was diſordered, and in a flying poſture, in ſo much that he had not a thouſand Men about him that kept their ſtanding; (ſome told me, that there were ſcarce five hundred:) He ſaw, that *Dara*, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the way, which was uneven, and full of holes in divers places, made as if he would ruſh in upon him: Yet, for all this, he loſt no courage, and was ſo far from being ſtruck with fear, or from retreating, that

that he ſtood firmly to it, and called by name moſt of his Captains that were about him, crying out to them, *Delirane Kodahé*, (theſe are his own words,) that is, *Courage my old Friends, God is*: What hope is there in flying? Know you not, where is our *Decan? Kodahé*, *Kodahé*, *God is*, *God is*. And that none might doubt of his being undaunted, and that he thought on nothing leſs than running away, he commanded before them all (oh ſtrange extremity!) that forthwith Chains ſhould be faſtened to the feet of his Elephant; and was going to faſten them in good earneſt, but that they all declared their courage and reſolution, to live and dye with him.

Dara in the interim endeavoured to advance upon *Aureng-Zebe*, though he was yet at a good diſtance from him, and though the difficulty of the way embaraſſed and retarded him much; he meeting alſo with ſome reſiſtance, even from thoſe diſordered Horſe of the Enemy, that cover'd all high and low places where he was to March.

And

And this Encounter with *Aureng-Zebe* was looked upon as *the* thing, that was to aſſure *Dara* of the Victory, and to decide the Battel. And doubtleſs, he would have overcome all theſe difficulties, and *Aureng-Zebe*, with the ſmall number left him, would not have been able to bid head to this victorious Army, if *Dara* had known how to profit of the priſe he had in his hands. But here he failed; of which I ſhall now ſhew the occaſion, and how thereby the Scale was turned to *Aureng-Zebe*'s advantage.

Dara perceived that his left Wing was in great diſorder, and he was informed, that *Ruſtam-Kan* and *Chatreſale* were killed; that *Ramſeigne Routlé* had too far advanced, that he had indeed forced the Enemy, and made way through the midſt of them; but that now he was ſurrounded every way, and in very great danger. This it was, which made *Dara* deſiſt from his deſign of making directly towards *Aureng-Zebe*, that he might go to ſuccour his left Wing. There at firſt

the Battel was also very sharp, but *Dara* at last carried it, forcing and routing all, yet so, as that there still remained something that resisted and stopped him. Mean time, *Ramseigne Routlé* fought with so much courage and vigour as was possible. He wounded *Morad-Bakche*, and came so near him, that he began to cut the Girdles of his Elephant, to make him fall down; but the valour and good fortune of *Morad-Bakche* gave not time enough for it. In short, never any Man fought and defended himself more bravely, than *Morad-Bakche* did on this occasion: All wounded as he was, and pressed by the *Ragipous* of *Ramseigne Routlé*, who were round about him, he was not daunted, nor gave way in the least, but knew so well to take his time, that, although he was, besides defending himself, to cover with his Shield a Son of his, but of seven or eight years of Age, who was sitting on his side, he made an Arrow-shot so luckily at *Ramseigne Routlé*, that it made him fall dead to the ground.

Dara

Dara ſoon heard the ſad News of this Accident; but at the ſame time he underſtood alſo, that *Morad-Bakche* was in very great danger; the *Ragipous* fighting furiouſly, and like Lions, to revenge the death of their Maſter. And though he ſaw, on that ſide the way was very difficult, and that he ſtill found ſome ſmall Body oppoſing and retarding him; yet he was determined to ruſh through to *Morad-Bakche:* And doubtleſs this was the beſt he could do, and that, which was capable to repair the fault he had committed in not doing his buſineſs thoroughly with *Aureng-Zebe.* But his bad fortune kept him from it, or rather, one of the blackeſt Treacheries that ever was imagined, and the greateſt overſight that was ever committed, did cauſe the entire loſs and ruin of *Dara.*

Calil-ullah-Kan (he that commanded the Thirty Thouſand *Mogols*, which made the right Wing, and were alone able to defeat the whole Army of *Aureng-Zebe*) did, whilſt *Dara* and

his left Wing fought with ſo much courage and ſucceſs, keep off, as idle as if he were not concerned in the fray, not permitting any one of his Horſemen to ſhoot an Arrow, with a pretence, that they were for a Reſerve, and that he had expreſs order not to fight but in the laſt extremity. But the true cauſe was, that he reſerved in his breaſt the rancour of an old Affront, done him by *Dara*, when he commanded him to be ſtruck. But after all, this Treachery would have done no great miſchief, if this infamous Man had contented himſelf with this firſt Effect of his Reſentment: Behold, how far he carried his rage, and revengefulneſs! He cut himſelf off from his Main Body, and taking only a few Men with him, rid with all poſſible ſpeed towards *Dara*, at the ſame time when he was turning to fall on *Morad-Bakche*, and being come ſo near as to make himſelf be heard, cryed out with all his force; *Mohbareck-bad*, *Hazaret*, *Salamet*, *Elhamdul-ellah*; God ſave your Majeſty, you have

have obtained the Victory; what will you do any longer upon your Elephant? Is it not enough, that you have expoſed your ſelf ſo long? If the leaſt of thoſe ſhots, that have been made into your *Dais*, had reached your Perſon, what would have become of us? Are there Traitors wanting in this Army? In the Name of God come down quickly and take Horſe. What remains more to be done, than to purſue thoſe Run-aways? Let us do ſo, nor let us ſuffer, that they ſhould eſcape our hands!

If *Dara* had had wit enough to diſcover the cheat, and to conſider upon a ſudden the conſequences of his not appearing any more upon the Elephant, and being no more ſeen by the whole Army, always eying him, or rather, if he had preſently commanded to cut off the Head of this Paraſitical Traitor, he had been Maſter of all. But the good Prince ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by theſe ſweet words: He hearkened to this advice, as if it had been very true and very

ſincere; he deſcended from his Elephant, and took Horſe. But I know not, whether there paſſed one quarter of an hour, but he perceived the Treachery of *Calil-ullah-Kan*, and repented himſelf extremely of the great fault he had committed. He looks about him, he ſeeketh, he asketh where he is; he ſaith, he is a Traitor, he will kill him. But the perfidious Villain is by this time at a good diſtance; the occaſion is loſt. Would it be believed, that as ſoon as the Army perceived *Dara* to be no more upon the Elephant, they imagined that there was Treaſon, that *Dara* was killed; and all were ſtruck with ſuch a terrour, that every one thought on nothing, but how to eſcape the hands of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to ſave himſelf? What ſhall I ſay? All the Army disbands and flyeth. A ſudden and ſtrange revolution! He that ſaw himſelf juſt now victorious, finds himſelf in a few moments vanquiſhed, abandoned, and obliged to fly himſelf to ſave his life. *Aureng-Zebe*, by holding out firm a quarter

quarter of an hour upon his Elephant, ſeeth the Crown of *Indoſtan* upon his Head; and *Dara*, for having come down a little too ſoon, ſeeth himſelf precipitated from the Throne, and the moſt unfortunate Prince of the World. Thus Fortune taketh pleaſure, to make the gain or loſs of a Battel, and the deciſion of a great Empire, depend upon a nothing.

Theſe great and prodigious Armies, 'tis true, do ſometimes great things; but when once terrour ſeizeth, and diſorder comes among them, what means of ſtopping the Commotion? 'Tis like a great River broke through its Dams; it muſt over-run all, without a Remedy. Whence it is, that as often as I conſider the condition of ſuch Armies, deſtitute of good order, and marching like flocks of ſheep, I perſwade my ſelf, that, if in theſe parts one might ſee an Army of five and twenty thouſand Men, of thoſe old Troops of *Flandres*, under the conduct of *Monſieur le Prince*, or of *Monſieur de Turenne*, I doubt not at all,

but they would trample under foot all those Armies, how numerous soever they were. And this it is, that now maketh me not find it any longer strange or incredible, what we are told of ten thousand *Greeks*; and of fifty thousand Men of *Alexander*, overcoming six or seven hundred thousand Men of *Darius*; (if it be true, that there were so many, and that the Historian did not reckon the Servants, and all those Numbers of Men, which were to follow the Army, to furnish it with Forage, Cattel, Corn, and all other necessaries.) Bear only the first brunt, which would be no very difficult thing for us to do; and behold, they are all astonish'd: Or, do like *Alexander*, set vigorously upon one place, if that hold not out, (which will be very hard of them to do) you may be sure the work is done; all the rest presently take fright and flight together.

Aureng-Zebe, encouraged by such a wonderful success, is not wanting to turn every stone, to employ skill, dex-

dexterity, ſubtilty, craft, courage, to profit by all the advantages, which ſo favourable an occaſion puts into his hands. *Calil-ullah-Kan* is preſently with him, offering him his ſervice, and all the Troops he could be Maſter of. He, on his ſide, wants not words of thanks and acknowledgments, nor a thouſand fair promiſes: But he was very cautious to receive him in his own name; he carried him preſently and preſented him to *Morad-Bakche*, who, as we may eaſily think, received him with open arms; *Aureng-Zebe* in the mean time congratulating and praiſing *Morad-Bakche*, for having fought ſo valiantly, and aſcribing to him all the honour of the Victory; treating him with the Title of King and Majeſty before *Calil-ullah-Kan*, giving him uncommon reſpect, and doing ſubmiſſions to him becoming a Subject and Servant. In the interim, he labours night and day for himſelf, he writeth round about to all the *Omrahs*, making ſure to day of one, and next day of another. *Chah-heſt-Kan*, his

his Uncle, the great and old Enemy of *Dara*, by reason of an Affront he had received from him, did the same for him on his part; and as he is the Person who writeth best and subtilleſt of the Empire of *Indoſtan*, ſo he contributed not a little by his Cabals to the advancement of the Affairs of *Aureng-Zebe*, making ſtrong Parties every where againſt *Dara*.

In the mean time let us ſtill obſerve the artifice and diſſimulation of *Aureng-Zebe*: Nothing of what he doth, treateth, promiſeth, is for himſelf, or in his own Name; he hath ſtill (forſooth) the deſign of living as a *Fakire*: All is for *Morad-Bakche*, 'tis he that commands; *Aureng-Zebe* doth nothing; 'tis *Morad-Bakche* that doth all, 'tis he that is deſigned to be King.

As for the unhappy *Dara*, he comes with all ſpeed to *Agra*, in a deſperate condition, and not daring to go ſee *Chah-Jehan*, remembring, doubtleſs, thoſe ſevere words which he let fall, when he took leave of him before the Battel, *viz.* That he ſhould remember not

not to come before him, if he were overcome. Yet, for all that, the good old Father ſent ſecretly a truſty Eunuch to him, to comfort him, to aſſure him of the continuance of his affection, to declare to him his trouble for his misfortune, and to remonſtrate to him, that the Caſe was not yet deſperate, conſidering that there was a good Army with *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son, that he ſhould go to *Dehli*, where he ſhould find a thouſand Horſe in the Royal Stables; and *that* the Governour of the Fortreſs had order to furniſh him with Money and Elephants; for the reſt, *that* he ſhould not go further than he needs muſt; *that* he would often write to him: And laſtly, *that* he very well knew how to find out and chaſtiſe *Aureng-Zebe*.

I have been informed, that *Dara* was then in ſuch a confuſion, and ſunk ſo low, that he had not the power to anſwer a word to the Eunuch, nor the courage to ſend any one to *Chah-Jehan*; but that, after having ſent ſeveral times to *Begum-Saheb*, his Siſter, he

he went away at mid-night, taking with him his Wife, his Daughters, and his Grand-child *Sepe-Chekouh*; and that (which is almoſt incredible) he was attended with not above three or four hundred perſons. Let us leave him in his Voyage to *Dehli*, and ſtay at *Agra*, to conſider the dexterity and craft, wherewith *Aureng-Zebe* proceeded to manage Affairs.

He well knew, that *Dara*, and thoſe of his Party, could yet place ſome hopes in the victorious Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, and therefore he reſolved to take it from him, or to make it uſeleſs to him. To this end, he wrote Letters upon Letters to the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, and to *Delil-Kan*, who were the chief Heads of the Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, telling them, that there was no hope left for *Dara* and his Party; that he had loſt the Battel; that his whole Army had ſubmitted to him; that all had abandon'd him; that he was fled alone towards *Dehli*; that he could never eſcape him, and that Orders were diſtributed every where

where to ſeize on him. And as for *Chah-Jehan*, that he was in a condition hopeleſs of recovery; that they ſhould take good care of what they had to do; and if they were Men of underſtanding, and would follow his fortune, and be his Friends, they ſhould ſeize on *Soliman Chekouh*, and bring him to him.

Jeſſeigne found himſelf perplex'd enough, what he ſhould do, ſtill much apprehending *Chah-Jehan* and *Dara*, and more, to lay hands upon a Royal Perſon, well knowing, that ſome miſchief might therefore fall on him, ſooner or later, even from *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf. Beſides, he knew that *Soliman Chekouh* had too much courage to let himſelf be taken after that manner, and that he would rather dye in defending himſelf. Behold therefore, what he at laſt reſolved! After having taken counſel with *Delil-Kan*, his great Friend, and after they had renew'd to one another the Oath of mutual Fidelity, he went directly to the Tent of *Soliman Chekouh*, who with great im-

impatience expected him, (for he also had heard the News of the Defeat of *Dara* his Father) and had already divers times sent for him. To him he frankly discover'd all things, shew'd him the Letter of *Aureng-Zebe*, told him what course was best for him to take, represented to him the danger he was in; that there was no reason he should trust in *Delil-Kan*, or in *Daoud-Kan*, or in the rest of his Army; but that, as soon as he could, he should gain the Mountains of *Serenaguer*; that that was the best Expedient he could take; that the *Raja* of that Countrey being in unaccessible places, and not apprehending *Aureng-Zebe*, would doubtless receive him gladly; and, for the rest, he would soon see how things would go, and be always in a condition to come down from the Mountains, when he should think good.

The young Prince understood well enough by this kind of discourse, that there was no ground to trust henceforth in this *Raja*, and that there was no more safety for his Person; and that

that the rather, becauſe he knew that *Delil-Kan* was altogether devoted to him, and he ſaw well enough, that there was a neceſſity to take this courſe ſuggeſted. Whereupon he ſoon commanded, that his Baggage ſhould be put up to march towards the Mountains. Some of his moſt affectionate Friends, as a good number of *Manſeb-Dars*, of *Sajeds*, and others, put themſelves in order to attend him; the reſt of the Army, altogether aſtoniſh'd, remain'd with the *Raja*. But that, which was very mean for a great *Raja*, and a very ſordid barbarouſneſs, was, that he and *Delil-Kan* ſent under hand ſome to fall upon his Baggage, who alſo took other things, and among them an Elephant laden with Rupies of Gold, which cauſed a great diſorder among thoſe ſmall Troops that follow'd him; and which was an occaſion, that many of them return'd and abandon'd him; and invited alſo the Countrey-people to ſet upon his Men, pillaging them, and even killing ſome of them: Yet he made a

ſhift

shift to gain the Mountains, with his Wife and Children, where the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* received him with all the honour and civilities he could desire, assuring him, that he was in safety, as much as if he were King of that Countrey, and that he would protect and assist him with all his Forces. In the mean time, behold what happened on *Agra*'s side.

Three or four days after the Battel of *Samonguer*, the Victorious *Aureng-Zebe*, together with *Morad-Bakche*, came directly to the Gate of the Town into a Garden, which may be a little League distant from the Fortress, and sent from thence an able Eunuch, and one of those whom he most confided in, to *Chah-Jehan*, to salute him with a thousand fair protestations of his affection and submission; that he was exceedingly sorry for what had passed, and for having been obliged, by reason of the ambition and evil designs of *Dara*, to proceed to all those extremities; that, for the rest, he rejoyced extremely to hear, that he began to find

find himſelf better, and that he was come thither for no other end than to receive his Commands. *Chah-Jehan* was not wanting to expreſs to the Eunuch much ſatisfaction, as to the proceedings of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to receive the ſubmiſſions of this Son with all poſſible appearances of joy; though he ſaw very well, that matters had been carried too far, and ſufficiently knew the reſerved and crafty humour of *Aureng-Zebe*, and his ſecret paſſion for Reigning; and that therefore he was not much to be truſted, for all his fair words. And yet notwithſtanding he ſuffers himſelf to be circumvented, and in ſtead of playing the ſureſt Chart, *by* uſing his utmoſt power, *by* ſtirring, *by* appearing, *by* cauſing himſelf to be carried through the Town, and *by* aſſembling all his *Omrahs*, (for it was yet time to do all this) he goes about to out-wit *Aureng-Zebe*, him that was his Crafts-Maſter, and attempts to draw him into a ſnare, wherein he will be found taken himſelf. He then ſends alſo an Eunuch

to this Son, to let him know, that he well understood the ill conduct, and even the incapacity of *Dara*; that he could not but call to mind the particular inclination he always had and expressed towards him, that he could not doubt of his affection; and lastly, that he should come to see him, and to advise with him what was fit to be done in these disorders; and that he passionately wished to embrace him.

Aureng-Zebe, on his side, saw also well enough, that he was not to trust too much to the words of *Chah-Jehan*, knowing especially, that *Begum-Saheb*, his Enemy as well as Sister, was night and day about him, and that 'twas very probable, he acted nothing but by her motion. And he apprehended, that if he should come into the Fortress, he might be seized on, and ill treated; as it was said, that the resolution was indeed taken to do so, and several of those lusty *Tartarian* Women, which serve in the *Seraglio*, were armed to set upon him as soon as he should enter. Whatever it be, he would

would never hazard himſelf, and yet ſpread a rumour abroad, that the next day he would go to ſee his Father *Chah-Jehan*. But when the day was come, he put it off 'till another, and ſo he delayed it from day to day, without ever making the Viſit. In the mean time he continued his ſecret Negotiations and Cabals, and ſounded the mind of all the greateſt *Omrahs*, ſo far, that at laſt, after he had well and cloſely laid his Deſign, and politickly diſpoſed all things for the ſucceſs thereof, all were amazed to ſee, that one day, when he had ſent *Sultan Mahmond*, his eldeſt Son, to the Fortreſs, under a pretence of ſeeing *Chah-Jehan* in his name; this young Prince, bold and undertaking, falls preſently upon the Guards that were at the Gate, and vigorouſly driveth all before him, whilſt a great number of Men appointed, who were there all ready, did enter with fury, and made themſelves Maſters of the Walls.

If ever a Man was aſtoniſh'd, *Chah-Jehan* was, ſeeing that he was fallen

into the ſnare which he had prepared for others, that himſelf was impriſon'd and *Aureng-Zebe* Maſter of the Fortreſs. 'Tis ſaid, that he preſently ſent to ſound the mind of *Sultan Mahmoud*, promiſing him upon his Crown and upon the *Alcoran*, that if he would be faithful to him, and ſerve him in this conjuncture, he would make him King; that he ſhould come preſently to ſee him within, and not loſe this occaſion: Beſides, that it would be an action that would accumulate on him the bleſſings of Heaven, and an immortal Glory; in regard it would be ſaid forever, that *Sultan Mahmoud* had deliver'd *Chah-Jehan* his Grandfather out of Priſon.

And certainly, if *Sultan Mahmoud* had been reſolute enough to give this ſtroke, and *Chah-Jehan* could have come abroad to ſhew himſelf to the Town, and to take the Field, no man doubts, but all his great *Omrahs* would have followed him; nor would *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf have had the boldneſs nor the ſavageneſs to fight againſt his own

own Father in perſon, eſpecially ſince he muſt have apprehended, that all the world would have abandon'd him, and poſſibly *Morad-Bakche* himſelf. And 'tis indeed the great fault which *Chah-Jehan* is obſerved to have committed after the Battel, and the flight of *Dara*, not to have come out of the Fortreſs. But yet I have converſed with many, who maintained, that *Chah-Jehan* did prudently in it. For this hath been a queſtion much agitated among the Politicians, and there are no Reaſons wanting to countenance the Sentiment of the latter ſort; who alſo add, that Men almoſt always judge of things by the Event; that often very fooliſh Enterpriſes have been obſerved to ſucceed, and which therefore are approv'd by all; that if *Chah-Jehan* had proſper'd in his Deſign, he would have been eſteem'd the moſt prudent and the moſt able Man in the World; but now being taken, he was nothing but a good old Man, that ſuffer'd himſelf to be led by a Woman, his Daughter *Begum*,

which was blinded by her passion, and had the vanity to believe, that *Aureng-Zebe* would come to see her, that the Bird of it self would fly into the Cage, or at least, that he would never be so bold as to attempt the seizure of the Fortress, nor have the power to do so. These same Reasoners maintaining also stifly, that the greatest fault that *Sultan Mahmoud* could possibly commit, was, that he knew not how to take the occasion to assure himself of the Crown, by the rarest and the most generous Action that ever was, to put his Grandfather at liberty, and thus to do himself Right and Justice, as the Soveraign Umpire of Affairs; whereas, as things now stand, he must one day go and dye in *Gonaleor*. But *Sultan Mahmoud* (whether it was that he fear'd his Grandfather would not keep his word with him, or that he should be himself detain'd within, or that he durst not play tricks with his Father *Aureng-Zebe*) would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the Apartment

of

of *Chah-Jehan*, anſwering very cloſely, that he had no order from his Father to go and ſee him, but that he was by him commanded not to return, without bringing him the Keys of all the Gates of the Fortreſs, that ſo he might come with all ſafety to kiſs the Feet of his Majeſty. There paſſed almoſt two whole days before he could reſolve to ſurrender the Keys; during which time, *Sultan Mahmoud* ſtaid there, unalterable in his reſolutions, keeping himſelf upon his Guard night and day, with all his Troops about him; 'till at length *Chah-Jehan*, ſeeing that all his People that were upon the Guard at the little Gate, little by little disbanded, and that there was no more ſafety on his ſide, gave him the Keys, with an order to tell *Aureng-Zebe*, that he ſhould come preſently if he were wiſe, and that he had moſt important things to diſcourſe with him about. But *Aureng-Zebe* was too cunning to commit ſo groſs a fault: On the contrary, he made his Eunuch *Etbarkan* Governour of the Fortreſs,

who preſently ſhut up *Chah-Jehan*, together with *Begum-Saheb*, and all his Women; cauſing divers Gates to be walled up, that ſo he might not be able to write or ſpeak to any body, nor go forth out of his Apartment without permiſſion.

Aureng-Zebe in the mean time writ to him a little Note, which he ſhew'd to every body before he ſealed it; in which, among other things, he told him with dry expreſſions, that he knew from good hands, that notwithſtanding thoſe great proteſtations of eſteem and affection he made to him, and of contempt he made of *Dara*, he had, for all that, ſent to *Dara* two Elephants charged with Rupies of Gold, to raiſe him again, and to recommence the War; and that therefore, in truth, it was not he that impriſoned him, but *Dara*, and that he might thank him for it, as the cauſe of all theſe misfortunes; and if it had not been for him, he would have come the very firſt day to him, and paid him all the moſt dutiful reſpects he could

could have looked for from a good Son: That, for the reſt, he begged his pardon, and a little patience; as ſoon as he ſhould have diſenabled *Dara* from executing his evil Deſigns, he would come himſelf and open the Gates to him.

I have heard it ſaid concerning this Note, that *Chah-Jehan* in very deed, the ſame night that *Dara* departed, had ſent to him theſe Elephants laden with Rupies of Gold, and that it was *Rauchenara-Begum* that found a way to diſcover it to *Aureng-Zebe*; as ſhe alſo had detected to him that Plot which was laid againſt him with thoſe *Tartarian* Women; and that *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf had intercepted ſome Letters of *Chah-Jehan* to *Dara*.

I have converſed with others, that maintain there is no ſuch thing, and that this Writing, which *Aureng-Zebe* ſhew'd to all, was only to caſt Sand into the Eyes of the People, and to labour, in ſome degree, to juſtifie himſelf in ſo ſtrange an action, and to devolve the Cauſe of it upon *Chah-*

Jehan

Jehan and *Dara*, as if he had been forced to such proceedings. They are things, which are difficult enough well to discover. However it be, as soon as *Chah-Jehan* was shut up, almost all the *Omrahs* were in a manner necessitated to go and make their Court to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*; and (which is almost incredible) there was not one that had the courage to stir, or to attempt the least in the behalf of his King, and for him that had made them what they were, and raised them from the dust; and perhaps from slavery it self (which is ordinary enough in that Court) to advance them to Riches and Honour. Yet some few there are, as *Danechmend-Kan*, and some others, that took no side; but all the rest declared for *Aureng-Zebe*.

'Tis notwithstanding to be noted what I said, that they were necessitated to do what they did. For 'tis not in the *Indies*, as in *France*, or other States of *Christendom*, where the Grandees and Nobles have large Possessions of

of Land, and great Revenues, which enables them for a while to ſubſiſt of themſelves. *There* they have nothing but Penſions (as I have already touch'd above) which the King can take away from them at all hours, and thus ruin them in an inſtant; ſo that they ſhall be conſidered no more than if they never had been, nor have any credit to borrow a farthing.

Aureng-Zebe therefore having thus aſſured himſelf of *Chah-Jehan*, and of all the *Omrahs*, took what Sums of Money he thought fit out of the Treaſury; and then having left *Chah-heſt-Kan*, his Uncle, Governour of the Town, he went away with *Morad-Bakche* to purſue *Dara*.

The day that the Army was to march out of *Agra*, the particular Friends of *Morad-Bakche*, eſpecially his Eunuch *Chah-Abas*, who knew, that the exceſs of civility and reſpect is ordinarily a ſign of impoſture, counſelled him, that ſince he was King, and every body treated him with the Title of Majeſty, and *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf

himſelf acknowledged him for ſuch, he ſhould let him go to purſue *Dara*, and ſtay himſelf with his Troops about *Agra* and *Dehli*. If he had followed this counſel, 'tis certain, that he would have embaraſſed *Aureng-Zebe* not a little; but 'twas fatal, that he ſhould neglect ſo good advice: *Aureng-Zebe* is too fortunate; *Morad-Bakche* entirely confideth in his promiſes, and in the Oaths of Fidelity they had ſworn to one another upon the Alcoran. They went away together, and went with the ſame pace towards *Dehli*.

When they were come to *Maturas*, three or four ſmall days Journeys from *Agra*, the Friends of *Morad-Bakche*, who perceived ſomething, endeavour'd again to perſwade him, that he ſhould beware; aſſuring him, that *Aureng-Zebe* had evil deſigns, and that beyond all doubt ſome miſchief was upon the Anvil; that they had notice of it from all parts, and that by no means, for that day at leaſt, he ſhould go to ſee him; that it would be much better

better to prevent the ſtroke the ſooneſt it might be; that he was only to forbear going to viſit him that day, excuſing himſelf with ſome indiſpoſition. But whatſoever could be ſaid to him, he believed nothing of it, his Ears were ſtopp'd to all the good advice that was given him, and as if he had been enchanted by the Friendſhip of *Aureng-Zebe*, he could not hold to go to him that very night, and to ſtay at Supper with him. As ſoon as he was come, *Aureng-Zebe*, who expected him, and had already prepared all things with *Mirkan*, and three or four of his moſt intimate Captains, was not wanting in embracements, and in redoubling his Courtſhip, civilities and ſubmiſſions, in ſo much as gently to paſs his handkerchief over his face, and to wipe off his ſweat and duſt, treating him ſtill with the Title of King and Majeſty. In the mean time, the Table is ſerved, they ſup, the converſation grows warm, they diſcourſe of various things as they uſe to do, and at laſt there is brought a huge

Bottle

Bottle of excellent *Chiras* Wine, and ſome other Bottles of *Caboul* Wine, for a Debauch. Then *Aureng-Zebe*, as a grave ſerious Man, and one that would appear a great Mahumetan, and very regular, nimbly riſeth from Table, and having with much kindneſs invited *Morad-Bakche*, who loved a Glaſs of Wine very well, and who reliſh'd the Wine that was ſerved, ſcrupled not to drink of it to exceſs. In a word, he made himſelf drunk, and fell aſleep. This was the thing that was wiſhed; for preſently ſome Servants of his that were there, were commanded away, under a pretence, to let him ſleep without making any noiſe; and then his Zable and Ponyard were taken from about him: But *Aureng-Zebe* was not long, but came himſelf and waken'd him. He entred into the Chamber, and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his Eyes, he made to him this ſhort and ſurpriſing Reprimand: What means this, *ſaid he*, What ſhame and what ignominy is this,

this, that ſuch a King as you are, ſhould have ſo little temper, as thus to make himſelf drunk? What will be ſaid both of you and me? Take this infamous Man, this Drunkard, tye him hand and foot, and throw him into that room to ſleep out his Wine. No ſooner ſaid, but it was executed; notwithſtanding all his appeal and out-cry, five or ſix perſons fall upon him, and fetter his hands and feet. The things could not be done, but ſome of his Men that were thereabout had news of it. They made ſome noiſe, and would enter forcibly; but *Allah-Couly*, one of his chief Officers, and the Maſter of his Artillery, that had been gained long before, threatened them, and made them draw back. Without any delay, Men were ſent through the whole Army to calm this firſt Commotion, which alſo might have proved dangerous; they made them believe it was nothing, they having been preſent, that *Morad-Bakche* was only drunk, that in that condition he had railed at every body,

and

and *Aureng-Zebe* himself, in so much that there had been a necessity, seeing him drunk and furious, to keep him apart; that the next day they would see him abroad, after he had digested his Wine. In the mean time, the Presents walked about all night amongst the chief Officers of the Army, their Pay was forthwith increased, they had great Promises made them; and as there was none, that had not long since apprehended some such thing, there was no great wonder to see almost all things quieted the next morning; so that the very next night this poor Prince was shut up in a little close house, such an one as is wont to be placed on Elephants to carry Women, and he was carried directly to *Dehli* into *Slimager*, which is a little old Fortress in the midst of the River.

After that all was thus appeased, except the Eunuch *Chah-Abas*, who caused difficulty enough, *Aureng-Zebe* received the whole Army of *Morad-Bakche* into his Service, and went after *Dara*, who marched apace towards *Lahor*,

Lahor, with an intention well to fortifie himſelf in that place, and thither to draw his Friends. But *Aureng-Zebe* followed him with ſo much ſpeed, that he had not time to do any great matter, finding himſelf neceſſitated to retreat, and to take the way of *Multan*, where alſo he could do nothing conſiderable, becauſe that *Aureng-Zebe*, notwithſtanding the great heat, marched night and day; in ſo much, that to encourage all to make haſte, he ſometimes advanced almoſt all alone two or three leagues before the whole Army, finding himſelf often obliged to drink ill water like others, to be content with a cruſt of dry bread, and to ſleep under a Tree, ſtaying for his Army in the midſt of the high-way, laying his Head on his Shield like a common Souldier. So that *Dara* found himſelf conſtrained to abandon *Multan* alſo, that he might avoid being near *Aureng-Zebe*, whom he was not able to encounter. Here 'tis that the Stateſmen of this Country have reaſoned very diverſly: For 'tis

ſaid, that if *Dara*, when he went out of *Lahor*, had caſt himſelf into the Kingdom of *Caboul*, as he was adviſed, he would there have found above ten thouſand warlike Men, deſigned againſt the *Augans*, the *Perſians*, and the *Usbecs*, and for a Guard to that Country, the Governour whereof was *Mohabet-Kan*, one of the moſt potent and the moſt ancient of *Indoſtan*, and that had never been *Aureng-Zebe*'s Friend; that, beſides, he would have been there at the Gate of *Perſia* and *Usbec*; that it was likely, that there being no want of Money, all that *Militia*, and *Mohabet-Kan* himſelf, would have embraced his Party, and that further he might have drawn aſſiſtance, not only from *Usbec*, but alſo from *Perſia*, as well as from *Houmayon*, whom the *Perſians* had reſtored to his Country againſt *Zaher-Kan*, King of the *Patans*, who had driven him thence. But *Dara* was too unfortunate to follow ſo good advice. Inſtead of that he went towards *Scimdy*, to caſt himſelf into the Fortreſs of *Tatabakar*,

bakar, that ſtrong and famous place, ſeated in the midſt of the River *Indus*.

Aureng-Zebe ſeeing him take this way, found it not fit to follow him further off, being extremely glad that he had not taken the way to *Caboul*. He contented himſelf to ſend after him ſeven or eight thouſand Men, under the Conduct of *Mir-baba*, his Foſter-brother, and turned back with the ſame expedition to the place whence he was come, much apprehending leſt any thing ſhould fall out about *Agra*; leſt ſome or other of thoſe potent *Raja's*, as *Jeſſeigne*, or *Jeſſomſeigne*, ſhould make an attempt in his abſence, to free *Chah-Jehan* out of Priſon; or leſt *Soliman Chekouh*, together with the *Raja* of *Serenaguer*, ſhould deſcend from the Hills; or leſt alſo *Sultan Sujah* ſhould approach too near *Agra*. Behold a little accident, which one day befel him, for too great precipitation.

When he thus returned from *Multan* towards *Lahor*, and marched his ordinary ſwift pace, he ſaw the *Raja*

Jesseigne come against him, accompanied with four or five thousand of his *Ragipous*, in a very good equipage; *Aureng-Zebe*, who had left his Army behind, and who also knew that this *Raja* was very affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, was sufficiently surprised, as may easily be imagined, fearing lest this *Raja* should make use of this occasion, and do a Master-piece of State, by seizing on him, to draw *Chah-Jehan* out of Prison, which at that time was very easie to do. Neither is it known, whether this *Raja* had not some such design; for he had marched with extraordinary speed, in so much that *Aureng-Zebe* had no news of it, believing him yet to be at *Dehli*. But what may not resolution and presence of mind do? *Aureng-Zebe*, without any alteration of his countenance, marched directly towards the *Raja*, and as far off as he could see him, maketh signs to him with his hands, importing that he should make haste to a nearer approach, crying out to him with a loud voice, *Salamed Bached Rajagi*.

jagi, *Salamed Bached Babagi*, treating him with the Titles of *Lord Raja* and *Lord Father*. When the *Raja* was come to him; I expected you, *ſaid he*, with great impatience; the Work is done, *Dara* is loſt, he is all alone; I have ſent *Mir-baba* after him, from whom he cannot eſcape: And for an exceſs of kindneſs to him, he took off his Necklace of Pearls, and put it about the Neck of this *Raja*: And the ſooner to rid himſelf handſomely of him, (for he wiſh'd him far enough) Go, *ſaith he*, with all the expedition you can to *Lahor*, my Army is ſomewhat tyred; go quickly to attend me there; I apprehend that elſe ſomething ſiniſter might fall out there; I make you Governour of that place, and put all things into your hands. For the reſt, I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have done with *Soliman Chekouh*: Where have you left *Delil-Kan*? I ſhall find my revenge of him. Make all poſſible diſpatch, *Salamed Bached*, Farewell.

Dara being arrived at *Tata-bakar*,

made Governour of that place a very understanding, gallant, and generous Eunuch, with a very good Garrison of *Patans* and *Sayeds*; and for Cannoneers, a good number of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, *English*, *French*, and *Germans*, who had follow'd him out of great hopes he had given them, (for, if his Affairs had prospered, and he were become King, we must all have resolved to be *Omrahs*, as many *Franguis* as we were.) He there left also the greatest part of his Treasure; he wanted as yet no Gold nor Silver; and staying there but a very few days, he marched away with two or three thousand Men only, descending along the River *Indus* towards *Scindy*, and from thence crossing with an incredible celerity all those Territories of the *Raja Katche*, he arrived in *Guzaratte*, and came to the Gates of *Amadevat*. The Father-in-law of *Aureng-Zebe*, called *Chah-Navaze-Kan*, was Governour there, with a very good Garrison, able to resist. Yet notwithstanding, whether it was that he

he was ſurpriſed, or that he wanted courage, (for although he was of thoſe ancient Princes of *Machate*, yet he was no great Souldier, though a Man of a very obliging and civil converſation) he did not oppoſe *Dara*, but rather received him very honourably, and even managed him afterwards with ſo much dexterity, that *Dara* was ſo ſimple as to truſt himſelf with him, and to communicate to him his Deſigns; in ſo much as that he ſhew'd him the Letters which he received from the *Raja Jeſſomſeigne*, and of many other of his Friends, which prepared themſelves to come to him; although it proved too true, what every body told him, and his Friends confirmed by Letters, that certainly this *Chah-Navaze-Kan* would betray him.

Never was any Man more ſurpriſed than *Aureng-Zebe*, when he heard that *Dara* was in *Amadevat:* For he well knew, that he wanted no Money, and that all his Friends, and all the diſcontented Party, which was numerous, would not fail to betake themſelves by

little and little to him: And on the other side, he found it not safe to go and find him out himself in that place, by removing himself so far from *Agra* and *Chah-Jehan*, to go and embaras himself in all those Countries of the *Raja's*, *Jesseigne*, *Jessomseigne*, and others, that are in those Provinces. Besides he apprehended, lest *Sultan Sujah* should advance with a strong Army, which was already about *Elabas*, and lest the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* should descend from the Hills with *Soliman Chekouh*: So that he was sufficiently perplexed and troubled, not knowing which way to turn. At last he believed it best, to leave *Dara* for a time quiet where he was, and to go thither where his presence and Army was most necessary, which was towards *Sultan Sujah*, who had already passed the River *Ganges* at *Elabas*.

This *Sultan Sujah* was come to encamp in a little Village called *Kadjoue*, and had conveniently seized himself of a great *Talab*, or Reservatory of Water, which is there in the way; and

and *Aureng-Zebe* came to place himſelf on the ſide of a ſmall Torrent, at the diſtance of a mile and an half from thence, on *Agra's* ſide. Between both was a very fair Campagne, very proper for a Battel. *Aureng-Zebe* was no ſooner arrived, but being impatient to end this War, at break of day he went to face *Sujah*, leaving his Baggage on the other ſide of the Torrent. He fell upon *Sujah* with an effort unimaginable. *Emir-Jemla*, Priſoner of of *Decan*, and who arrived juſt on the day of the Combat, fearing *Dara* no more, becauſe his Family was more in ſafety, did there alſo lay out all his force, courage, and dexterity. But ſeeing that *Sultan Sujah* had well fortified himſelf, and was accompanied with a very good Artillery, advantagiouſly placed, it was not poſſible for *Aureng-Zebe* to force him, nor to make him retreat from thence, ſo as to make him loſe thoſe Waters. On the contrary, he was obliged himſelf to draw back ſeveral times, ſo vigorouſly was he repulſed, in ſo much

that

that he found himself in great perplexity. *Sultan Sujah* not being willing to advance too far into the Campagne, nor to remove from that advantagious place where he was, pretending only to defend himself; which was very prudently done. For he foresaw, that *Aureng-Zebe* could not stay there long, and that in that hot season he would be absolutely obliged to turn back towards the Torrent for the Water; and that, when he should do so, he would fall upon his Rear. *Aureng-Zebe* also foresaw well enough the same thing, and that was the reason why he was so forward and pressing; but behold another more troublesome accident.

In this very time he receiveth intelligence, that the *Raja Jessomseigne*, who in *appearance* had accommodated himself with him, was fallen upon his Rear, and plunder'd his Baggage and Treasure. This News astonished him much, and the more, because he perceived that his Army which had heard of it was thereby frighted, and fallen

fallen into diſorder. Yet he loſes not his judgment for all this; and being well aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he reſolved, as in the Battel of *Dara*, to bear up the beſt he could, and to expect with a ſteady foot all Events. In the mean time, the diſorder grew worſe and worſe in his Army: *Sujah*, who was reſolved to profit of the occaſion, taketh his time, and preſſeth him vigorouſly. He that led *Aureng-Zebe*'s Elephant is killed with the ſhot of an Arrow; he leads the Beaſt as well as he can himſelf, 'till another could be had in that Leaders place. Arrows rain upon him; he returns many himſelf, his Elephant begins to be frighted, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to that point, that one foot of his was out of the ſeat, as if he meant to caſt himſelf to the ground; and no Man knows what in that trouble he had not done, if *Emir-Jemla*, being nigh, and performing, like a Great Man as he was, beyond imagination, called to him,

in

in holding up his hand, *Decan-kou, Decan-kou*, where is *Decan?* This seems to have been the greatest extremity, to which *Aureng-Zebe* could be reduced. One would have said, 'twas now and here that Fortune had abandon'd him, and there is almost no appearance of a possibility to escape. But his good Fortune is stronger than all that: *Sultan Sujah* must be routed, and take flight, like *Dara*, to save his life: *Aureng-Zebe* must remain victorious, carry away the Bell, and be King of the *Indies*.

We are to remember the Battel of *Samonguer*, and that, in appearance, slight accident which ruined *Dara*: 'Tis the same over-sight, or rather the same Treason, which is now destroying *Sultan Sujah*. One of his chief Captains, *Allah-verdi-Kan*, who (as some say) had been gained, useth the same Artifice that *Calil-ullah-Kan* had employ'd towards *Dara*; though there were some who believed, that there was no malice in the case, and that it was a meer piece of flattery.

For

For ſeeing that the whole Army of *Aureng-Zebe* was in diſorder, he ran towards *Sultan Sujah*, telling him the ſame thing, that *Calil-ullah-Kan* did to *Dara*, and begging of him with folded hands, that he would ſtay no longer in ſo great danger upon his Elephant. Come down, *ſaid he*, in the Name of God, mount on Horſe-back, God hath made you Soveraign of the *Indies*, let us purſue thoſe Fugitives, let not *Aureng-Zebe* eſcape us.

But not to ſtay long from declaring the ſtrange Fortune of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the incredible conjuncture that recovers his deſperate condition; *Sultan Sujah*, not more conſiderate than *Dara*, commits the ſame Fault; and he was no ſooner come down from his Elephant, but his Army ſeeing him no more, was ſtruck with a terrour, believing there was Treaſon, and that he was either taken or ſlain. Whereupon they disbanded without any more ado, as *Dara*'s Army did in the Battel of *Samonguer*; and the Defeat was ſo great, that the *Sultan* was for-

fortunate in that he could ſave himſelf.

Jeſſomſeigne hearing this unexpected news, and perceiving it was not very ſafe for him to tarry there, contented himſelf with the Spoil he had got, and with all diligence marched ſtreight to *Agra*, thence to paſs to his Countrey. The noiſe was already in *Agra*, that *Aureng-Zebe* had loſt the Battel, that he was taken, together with *Emir-Jemla*, and that *Sultan Sujah* brought them both Priſoners. In ſo much, that *Chah-heſt-Kan*, who was Governour of the Town, and Uncle to *Aureng-Zebe*, ſeeing *Jeſſomſeigne*, whoſe Treachery he had heard of, at the Gates, and deſpairing of his Life, had taken into his hand a Cup of Poyſon to make himſelf away, and had, as they ſay, in very deed ſwallowed it, if his Women had not fallen upon him and hindred him: So that 'tis thought, if *Jeſſomſeigne* had had the wit and courage to ſtay longer in *Agra*, if he had threatened boldly, and promiſed and acted vigorouſly for the

the freedom of *Chah-Jehan*, he might have drawn him out of priſon; ſo much the more eaſily, becauſe all *Agra* was for two whole days in that belief, that *Aureng-Zebe* was overcome. But *Jeſſomſeigne*, who knew how all things went, and who durſt not long ſtay there, nor attempt any thing, did nothing but paſs, returning with all ſpeed homewards.

Aureng-Zebe, who apprehended miſchief from *Agra*, and fear'd leſt *Jeſſomſeigne* ſhould undertake ſomething for *Chah-Jehan*, was not long in the purſuit after *Sultan Sujah*; he turn'd ſhort for *Agra* with his whole Army, where he ſtaid a good while, giving order for all things. Mean time he received intelligence, that *Sultan Sujah* had not loſt many Men in his being routed, for want of farther purſuit; that alſo from the Lands of the *Raja's*, which are in thoſe quarters, on the right and left of *Ganges*, he raiſed great Forces, upon the ſcore of the reputation he had of being very rich, and very liberal, and that he fortified himſelf

ſelf in *Elabas*, that important and famous Paſſage of *Ganges*, which with its Fortreſs is the firſt In-let into *Bengale*. And then he conſidered alſo, that he had about him two Perſons, which indeed were very capable to ſerve him, *Sultan Mahmoud* his Eldeſt Son, and *Emir-Jemla*; but he well knew, that thoſe who have done good ſervice to their Prince, grow often inſolent, in the belief, that all is due to them, and that they cannot be recompenced enough. He perceived already, that the former of them began very much to emancipate himſelf, and that every day he became more arrogant, for having ſeized on the Fortreſs of *Agra*, and by that means had broken all the Deſigns which *Chah-Jehan* could have formed. And as to the *latter*, he knew indeed the force of his Underſtanding, his Conduct, and Valour; but that was the very thing which made him apprehend him the more: For knowing that he was very rich, that his reputation was great, that he paſſed for the *Firſt Mover* in Affairs,

Affairs, and for the ableſt Man in all the *Indies*, he doubted not, but that after the Example of *Sultan Mahmoud*, he entertain'd himſelf with big hopes. All this certainly would have been able to perplex an ordinary Spirit, but *Aureng-Zebe* found a Remedy to all. He knew to remove them both with ſo much prudence, and even with ſo much handſomneſs, that neither of them found any cauſe to complain of it. He ſent them both againſt *Sultan Sujah* with a puiſſant Army, letting *Emir* ſecretly know, that the Government of *Bengale*, which is the beſt quarter of *Indoſtan*, was deſign'd for him, to hold it during his life, and for his Son after his deceaſe; and that thereby he would begin to expreſs to him his acknowledgments for the great Services he had done him; and that therefore it belonged only to him to defeat *Sujah*, and that as ſoon as he ſhould have compaſſed it, he would make him *Mir-ul Omrahs*, which is the firſt and the moſt honourable place of *Indoſtan*, and no leſs than the Prince of the *Omrahs*.

To *Sultan Mahmoud*, his Son, he said only these few words: Remember that thou art the Eldest of my Children; that 'tis for thy self thou goest forth to fight; that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not *Sujah*, who is our greatest and powerfullest Enemy; I hope, God assisting me, to be soon Master of the rest.

With these words he dismissed them both, with ordinary honours, that is, with rich Vests, some Horses and Elephants gallantly harnessed; making in the mean time *Emir-Jemla* to consent, that his only Son, *Mahmet-Emir-Kan*, should stay with him for a good Education, or rather for a Pledge of his Fidelity; and *Sultan Mahmoud*, that his Wife should remain in *Agra* (which was the Daughter of the above-mention'd King of *Golkonda*) as too troublesome a thing in an Army, and in such an Expedition.

Sultan Sujah, who was always in the apprehension, lest the *Raja's* of the lower *Bengale*, which he had ill treated,

should

ſhould be raiſed againſt him, and who feared nothing more than to have to do with *Emir-Jemla*, had no ſooner received this News, but apprehending that the paſſage to *Bengale* would be obſtructed, and that *Emir* would paſs in ſome other place the River *Ganges*, either lower or higher than *Elabas*, raiſed his Camp, and went down to *Benares* and *Patna*, whence he betook himſelf to *Mogiere*, a ſmall Town ſeated upon the *Ganges*; a place commonly call'd the *Key* of the Kingdom of *Bengale*; being a kind of Streight between the Mountains and the Woods, which are not far from thence. He thought fit to ſtay in that place, and there to fortifie himſelf; and for greater ſafety, he cauſed a great Trench to be made, which I have ſeen, paſſing that way ſome years after, from the Town and River unto the Mountain, being well reſolved there to attend *Emir-Jemla*, and to diſpute that paſſage with him. But he was ſufficiently aſtoniſh'd, when he was told, that the Troops of *Emir*,

which ſlowly deſcended along the River *Ganges*, were certainly for nothing but to amuſe him; that himſelf was not there; that he had gained the *Raja's* of thoſe Mountains, which are on the right hand of the River; and that he and *Sultan Mahmoud* marched apace over their Lands with all the Flower of the Army, drawing ſtraight to *Rage-Mehalle*, to intercept him: So that he was conſtrained to quit, as ſoon as he could, his Fortifications; yet notwithſtanding he made ſo much haſte, that though he was obliged to follow thoſe windings, which the River *Ganges* on that ſide maketh toward the left hand, he prevented *Emir* by ſome days, and arrived firſt at *Rage-Mehalle*, where he had time to fortifie himſelf; becauſe *Emir* having heard this News, took his March to the left hand towards *Ganges*, through very ill ways, there to expect his Troops, which came down with the Body of the Artillery and the Baggage along the River. As ſoon as all was come, he went to attaque *Sultan Sujah*, who defen-

defended himſelf very well for five or ſix days; but ſeeing that the Artillery of *Emir*, which played inceſſantly, ruined all his Fortifications, which were made but of ſandy Earth and Faggots, and that he could not but with much difficulty make reſiſtance in that place, beſides that the Seaſon of the Rain began, he retired himſelf, at the favour of the night, leaving behind two great Peeces of Cannon. *Emir* durſt not follow him in the night, for fear of ſome Ambuſh, putting off the purſuit 'till the next morning: But *Sujah* had the good luck, that at the break of day there began to fall a Rain, which laſted above three days; ſo that *Emir* could not only not ſtir out of *Rage-Mehalle*, but ſaw himſelf obliged to paſs the Winter there, by reaſon of the exceſſive Rains in that Country, which render the ways ſo troubleſome for more than four months, *viz. July*, *Auguſt*, *September*, and *October*, that the Armies cannot poſſibly march. And hereby *Sultan Sujah* had the means to retire himſelf, and to chuſe what

place he would, having time enough to fortifie his Army, and to send out of the inferiour *Bengale* for many Pieces of Cannon, and a good number of *Portugals*, that were retired thither, because of the great fertility of the Countrey: For he much courted all those *Portugal* Fathers, Missionaries, that are in that Province, promising them no less than that he would make them all rich, and build Churches for them wheresoever they would. And they were indeed capable to serve him, it being certain, that in the Kingdom of *Bengale* there are to be found no less than eight or nine thousand Families of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, and these either Natives or Mesticks.

But *Sultan Mahmoud*, who for the reason above-mentioned was grown fierce, and aspired perhaps to greater things than at that time he ought, did pretend to command the Army absolutely, and that *Emir-Jemla* should follow his Orders, letting also from time to time fall insolent words in reference to his Father *Aureng-Zebe*, as if

if he were obliged to him for the Crown, and uttering Expreſſions of contempt and threat againſt *Emir-Jemla*; which cauſed great coldneſs betwixt them two, which laſted a pretty while, until *Sultan Mahmoud* underſtood, that his Father was very much diſſatisfied with his conduct: And apprehending, leſt *Emir* had order to ſeize on his perſon, he went away to *Sultan Sujah*, accompanied with a very ſmall number, and to him he made great promiſes, and ſwore fidelity. But *Sujah*, who feared *Aureng-Zebe* and *Emir-Jemla*'s ſnares, could not truſt him, having always an Eye upon his Actions, without giving him any conſiderable Command; which he ſo diſguſted, that ſome months after, not knowing what would become of him, he left *Sultan Sujah*, and returned to *Emir*, who received him well enough, aſſuring him, that he would write in his behalf to *Aureng-Zebe*, and do his utmoſt to make him forget that fault.

I think fit here to take notice, on

the by, of what many have told me, *viz.* That this Eſcape of *Sultan Mahmoud* was altogether made by the Artifices of *Aureng-Zebe*, who cared not much to hazard this Son of his to try to deſtroy *Sujah*, and who was glad enough, that whatever the Event were, he might have a ſpecious pretence to put him in a place of ſurety. However it be, he afterwards ſhew'd himſelf much diſſatisfied with him, and wrote to him a ſevere Letter, in which he enjoyn'd him to return to *Dehli*, but giving order in the mean time, that he ſhould not come ſo far: For he no ſooner had paſſed the River *Ganges*, but he met with Troops that ſtopp'd him, and put him up in a ſmall Chair, (as was done to *Morad-Bakche*) and carried him to *Gonaleor*, whence 'tis thought he will never be ſet at liberty: *Aureng-Zebe* by this means freeing himſelf from great perplexity; who then alſo let his ſecond Son, *Sultan Mazum*, know, that the point of Reigning is ſo delicate a thing, that Kings muſt be jealous even of their own

own ſhadow; adding, that if he be not diſcreet, the like may befall him what had befallen his Brother, and that he ought to think *Aureng-Zebe* was not a Man, that would ſuffer that to be done to himſelf, what *Chah-Jehan* did to his Father *Jehan-Guyre*, and what he had alſo lately ſeen done to *Chah-Jehan*.

And indeed we may on this occaſion ſay, that if this Son continue to behave himſelf as he hath done hitherto, *Aureng-Zebe* will have no cauſe to ſuſpect him, and to be diſſatisfied with him: For no Slave can be more tractable, and *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf never appear'd more careleſs of Greatneſs, nor more given to Devotion than he: Yet I have known Men of Parts, who believed, that he is not ſo in good earneſt, but by ſuperlative policy and craft, like that of his Father, which we may have the proof of in time.

Whilſt all theſe things were thus tranſacted in *Bengale*, and that *Sultan Sujah* reſiſted the beſt he could the Forces of *Emir-Jemla*, paſſing now on

on one side of the River *Ganges*, of a Channel, or some other River, (for that Countrey is full of them) then on the other; *Aureng-Zebe* kept himself about *Agra*, going to and fro; and at length, after he had also sent *Morad-Bakche* to *Gonaleor*, he came to *Dehli*, where in good earnest he took upon him publickly to act the King, giving order for all Affairs of the Kingdom, and especially thinking on means to catch *Dara*, and to get him out of *Guzaratte*, which was a very hard thing, for the Reasons already mentioned. But the great good Fortune, and the singular dexterity of *Aureng-Zebe* soon drew him thence; which now follows next to be related.

Jessomseigne, who had retired himself to his Countrey, and made the best of what he had taken in the Battel of *Kadjoue*, raised a strong Army, and wrote to *Dara*, that he should come to *Agra* as soon as he could, and that he would joyn with his Forces. *Dara*, who had by this time set on foot a pretty

pretty numerous Army (though it conſiſted, for the moſt part, but of gathered people) and who hoped, that approaching to *Agra*, many of his old Friends, ſeeing him with *Jeſſomſeigne*, would not fail to joyn with him alſo, immediately leaveth *Amadevad*, and marcheth with great ſpeed to *Aſmire*, ſeven or eight days journey from *Agra*. But *Jeſſomſeigne* kept not his word with him: The *Raja Jeſſeigne* interpoſed to make his peace with *Aureng-Zebe*, and to faſten him to his Party; or, at leaſt, to hinder his Deſign, which was capable to ruin himſelf, and to make all the *Raja's* riſe; and wrote to him ſeveral Letters, giving him to underſtand the great danger he went to expoſe himſelf to, by eſpouſing a Party in that extremity, as that of *Dara's* was; that he ſhould well conſider what he was going to do; that he went about wholly to deſtroy himſelf, and all his whole Family; that *Aureng-Zebe* would never forgive him; that he was a *Raja* as himſelf; that he ſhould think on ſparing

ring the blood of the *Ragipous*; that if he thought to draw the *Raja's* to his Party, he would find those that would hinder him from it. In a word, that it was a business which concern'd all the Gentry of *Indostan*, and exposed them to danger, if way were given to kindle a Fire, which would not be extinguish'd at pleasure. And lastly, if he would leave *Dara* to himself, *Aureng-Zebe* would forget all that had passed, and present him with all he had taken, and give him that very instant the Government of *Guzaratte*, which would be very convenient for him, that Countrey being near his Lands; that he could be there in full liberty and safety, and as long as he pleased, and that himself would be Caution for all. In a word, this *Raja* acted his part so well, that he made *Jessomseigne* return to his Land, whilst *Aureng-Zebe* approached with his whole Army to *Asmire*, and encamped in the sight of that of *Dara*.

And now what could this poor Prince *Dara* do? He seeth himself aban-

abandoned, and fruſtrated of his hopes. He conſiders, that to turn back ſafe to *Amadevad* was impoſſible, in regard that it was a March of thirty and five days; that it was in the heart of Summer; that water would fail him; that they were all the Lands of *Raja's*, Friends or Allies of *Jeſſeigne* or *Jeſſomſeigne*; that the Army of *Aureng-Zebe*, which was not haraſſed like his, would not fail to follow him. 'Tis as good, *ſaith he*, to periſh here; and although the Match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give Battel once more. But alas! what does he mean to do? He is not only abandoned by all, but he hath yet with him *Chah-Navaze-Kan*, whom he truſts, and who betrays him, and diſcovers all his Deſigns to *Aureng-Zebe*. 'Tis true, that *Chah-Navaze-Kan* was puniſh'd for his perfidiouſneſs, and killed in the Battel, whether it was by the hands of *Dara* himſelf, as many told me, or (which is more probable) by ſome of *Aureng-Zebe*'s Army, who being ſecret Partiſans of *Dara*, found

found means to get to him, and to dispatch him, fearing left he should discover them, and have some knowledge of the Letters they had written to *Dara*. But what did it benefit him at that time, that *Chah-Navaze-Kan* was dead? *Dara* should have sooner follow'd the advice of his Friends, and never have confided in him.

The Fight began between Nine and Ten of the Clock in the morning: *Dara*'s Artillery, which was very well placed on a little eminency, was loud enough; but, as was said, most of the Peeces without Bullets; so was he betray'd by all! 'Tis needless to relate the other particulars of this Battel; it was properly not a Battel, but a Rout. I shall only say, that hardly the Onset was begun, but *Jesseigne* was near and in sight of *Dara*, to whom he sent word, that he should fly presently, unless he would be taken. So that this poor Prince, being altogether surprised, was constrained to run away instantly, and with so much disorder and precipitation, that he had not leisure

leiſure to put up his Baggage. It was no ſmall matter, that he was able to get away with his Wife, and the reſt of his Family. And 'tis certain, that if the *Raja Jeſſeigne* would have done what he could, he could never have eſcaped; but he always had a reſpect to the Royal Family; or rather, he was too crafty and politick, and had too great forecaſt, to venture to lay hands on a Prince of the Blood.

This unfortunate Prince, deſerted by almoſt all, and finding himſelf accompanied but of two thouſand Men at moſt, was forced in the hotteſt of Summer to croſs, without Tents or Baggage, all thoſe Countries of the *Raja's*, that are almoſt from *Aſmire* to *Amadevad*. Mean time the *Koullis*, which are the Countrey People, and the worſt of all the *Indies*, and the greateſt Robbers, follow him night and day, rifle and kill his Souldiers, with ſo much cruelty, that no Man could ſtay two hundred paces behind the Body, but he was preſently ſtripp'd naked, or butcher'd upon the leaſt reſi-

resistance. Yet notwithstanding, *Dara* made shift to get near *Amadevad*, when he hoped, that the next day, or soon after, he should enter into the Town to refresh himself, and to try once more to gather again some Forces: But all things fall out contrary to vanquished and unfortunate Men.

The Governour, whom he had left in the Castle of *Amadevad*, had already received both menacing and promising Letters from *Aureng-Zebe*, which made him lose courage, and incline to that side; in so much that he wrote to *Dara*, forbidding him to come nearer, if he did, he would find the Gates shut, and all in Arms.

Three days before I met this unhappy Prince, by a strange accident, when he obliged me to follow him; having no Physitian about him; and the night before that he received this News from the Governour of *Amadevad*, he did me the favour to make me come into the *Karavan-Serrak* where he was, fearing lest the *Koullis* should assassinate me: And (what is hard enough

enough to believe in *Indoſtan*, where the Grandees eſpecially are ſo jealous of their Wives) I was ſo near to the Wife of this Prince, that the Cords of the *Kanates*, or Wind-ſcreen, which encloſed them (for they had not ſo much as a poor Tent) were faſtened to the Wheels of my Chariot. I relate this circumſtance by the by only, to ſhew the extremity *Dara* was reduced to.

When theſe Women heard this ſad news (which was at the break of day, as I well remember) they broke out upon a ſudden into ſuch ſtrange cryes and lamentations, that they forced tears from ones Eyes. And now behold all was in an unexpreſſible confuſion: Every one looks upon his neighbour, and no body knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we ſaw *Dara* come forth, half dead, now ſpeaking to one, then another, even to the meaneſt Souldiers. He ſeeth all aſtoniſh'd, and ready to abandon him. What counſel? whither can he go? he muſt be gone inſtantly. You

may judge of the extremity he muſt needs be in, by this ſmall accident I am going to mention. Of three great Oxen of *Guzaratte*, which I had for my Chariot, one died the night before, another was dying, and the third was tyred out (for we had been forced to march for three days together, almoſt night and day, in an intolerable heat and duſt:) Whatever *Dara* could ſay or command, whether he alledged it was for himſelf, or for one of his Women that was hurt in her Leg, or for me; he could not poſſibly procure for me, whether Oxe, or Camel, or Horſe: So that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there. I ſaw him march away, and that with tears in his Eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred Cavaliers at moſt, and with two Elephants, that were ſaid to be laden with Gold and Silver; and I heard them ſay, that they were to take their march towards *Tatabakar*; for he had no other Game to play, though even that ſeem'd in a manner impoſſible, con-

conſidering the ſmall number of people left him, and the great ſandy Deſarts to be waded through in the hotteſt ſeaſon, moſt of them without water fit to drink. And indeed moſt of thoſe that follow'd him, and even divers of his Women, did there periſh, either of drought, or the unwholeſome waters, or the tireſome ways and ill food, or laſtly, becauſe ſtripped by the *Koullis* above-mention'd. Yet notwithſtanding all this, *Dara* made hard ſhift to get to the *Raja Katche*; unhappy even herein, that he periſh'd not himſelf in this March.

This *Raja* at firſt gave him a very good reception, even ſo far as to promiſe him aſſiſtance with all his Forces, provided he would give his Daughter in Marriage to his Son. But *Jeſſeigne* ſoon wrought as much with this *Raja*, as he had done with *Jeſſomſeigne*. So that *Dara* one day ſeeing the kindneſs of this Barbarian cooled upon a ſudden, and that conſequently his Perſon was in danger there, he betakes himſelf to the purſuit of his Expedition to *Tatabakar*.

To relate how I got away from those Robbers, the *Koullis*, in what manner I moved them to compassion, how I saved the best part of my small Treasure, how we became good friends by the means of my profession of Physick, my Servants (perplexed as well as my self) swearing that I was the greatest Physitian of the World, and that the People of *Dara*, at their going away, had ill treated me, and taken from me all my best things: How, after having kept me with them seven or eight days, they had so much kindness and generosity, as to lend me an Oxe, and to conduct me so far, that I was in sight of *Amadevad:* And lastly, how from thence after some days I returned to *Dehli*, having lighted on an occasion to go with a certain *Omrah* passing thither; in which Journey I met from time to time, on the way, with Carkasses of Men, Elephants, Oxen, Horses, and Camels, the remainder of that unfortunate Army of *Dara*. These are things, I say, I must not insist upon to describe them.

Whilst

Whilſt *Dara* advanced towards *Tatabakar*, the War continues in *Bengale*, and much longer than was believed, *Sultan Sujah* putting forth his utmoſt, and playing his laſt Game againſt *Emir-Jemla*: Yet this did not much trouble *Aureng-Zebe*, who knew 'twas a great way between *Bengale* and *Agra*, and was ſufficiently convinced of the prudence and valour of *Emir-Jemla*. That which diſquieted him much more was, that he ſaw *Soliman Chekouh* ſo near (for from *Agra* to the Mountains 'tis but eight days journey) whom he could not maſter, and who perpetually allarm'd him by the rumours that went continually about, as if he were coming down the Mountains with the *Raja*. 'Tis certainly very hard to draw him thence: But behold how he manages the matter to compaſs it.

He maketh the *Raja Jeſſeigne* write one Letter after another to the *Raja* of *Serenaguer*, promiſing him very great things, if he would ſurrender *Soliman Chekouh* to him, and menacing

War at the ſame time, if he ſhould obſtinately keep him. The *Raja* anſwers, that he would rather loſe his Eſtate, than do ſo unworthy an action. And *Aureng-Zebe*, ſeeing his reſolution, taketh the Field, and marcheth directly to the foot of the Hills, and with an infinite number of Pike-men cauſeth the Rocks to be cut, and the paſſage to be widen'd. But the *Raja* laughs at all that; neither hath he much cauſe to fear on that ſide. *Aureng-Zebe* may cut long enough, they are Mountains inacceſſible to an Army, and ſtones would be ſufficient to ſtop the Forces of four *Indoſtans*; ſo that he was conſtrained to turn back again.

Dara in the mean time approacheth to the Fortreſs of *Tatabakar*, and when he was but two or three days journey off, he received News, that *Mir-baba*, who had long held it beſieged, had at length reduced it to extremity: As I afterwards learned of our *French*, and other *Franguis* that were there, a pound of Rice and Meat having coſt there

there above a Crown, and ſo of other Victuals in proportion: Yet the Governour held out; made Sallies, which extremely incommoded the Enemy; and ſhew'd all poſſible prudence, courage, and fidelity; deriding the endeavours of the General, *Mir-baba*, and all the menaces and promiſes of *Aureng-Zebe*.

And this alſo I learned afterwards of my Countrey-men, the *French*, and of all thoſe other *Franguis* that were with him; who added, that when he heard that *Dara* was not far off, he redoubled his liberalities, and knew ſo well to gain the hearts of all his Souldiers, and to encourage them to do bravely, that there was not one of them, that was not reſolved to ſally out upon the Enemy, and to hazard all to raiſe the Siege, and to make *Dara* enter; and that he alſo knew ſo well to caſt fear and terrour into the Camp of *Mir-baba*, by ſending Spies about very cunningly to aſſure, that they had ſeen *Dara* approach with great reſolution, and very good Forces;

that if he had come, as was believed he would do every moment, the Army of the Enemy was for disbanding upon his appearance, and even in part to go over to him. But he is ſtill too unfortunate, to undertake any thing proſperouſly. Believing therefore, that to raiſe the Siege with ſuch an handful of Men as he had was impoſſible, he did deliberate to paſs the River *Indus*, and to endeavour to get into *Perſia*; although that alſo would have had mighty difficulties and inconveniencies, by reaſon of the Deſarts, and the ſmall quantity of good waters in thoſe parts; beſides, that upon thoſe Frontiers there are but mean *Rajas* and *Patans*, who acknowledge neither the *Perſian* nor the *Mogol*. But his Wife did very much diſwade him from it, for this weak reaſon, that he muſt, if he did ſo, expect to ſee his Wife and Daughter Slaves of the King of *Perſia*; that that was a thing altogether unworthy of the Grandeur of his Family, and 'twas better to dye, than to undergo this infamy.

Dara,

Dara, being in great perplexity, remembred, that there was thereabout a certain *Patan*, powerful enough, called *Gion-Kan*, whoſe Life he had formerly ſaved twice, when *Chah-Jehan* had commanded he ſhould be caſt under the feet of an Elephant, for having rebelled divers times: He reſolved to go to him, hoping that he could give him ſufficient Succours to raiſe the Siege of *Tatabakar*; making account, that thence he would take his Treaſure, and that going from thence, and gaining *Kandahar*, he could caſt himſelf into the Kingdom of *Caboul*, having great hopes of *Mohabet-Kan*, who was Governour of it, becauſe he was both potent and valiant, well beloved of his Countrey, and had obtained this Government by his (*Dara*'s) favour. But his Grandchild, *Sepe-Chekouh*, yet but very young, ſeeing his deſign, caſt himſelf at his Feet, intreating him for God's ſake, not to enter into the Countrey of that *Patan*. His Wife and Daughter did the ſame, remonſtrating to him,

him, that he was a Robber, a revolted Governour, that he would infallibly betray him; that he ought not to ſtand upon the raiſing of the Siege, but rather endeavour to gain *Caboul*, that the thing was not impoſſible, foraſmuch as *Mir-baba* was not like to quit the Siege to follow him, and to hinder him from getting thither.

Dara, being carried head-long by the force of his unhappy Deſtiny, rejected this counſel, and would hearken to nothing of what was propoſed to him, ſaying, as was true, that the March would be very difficult, and very dangerous; and maintaining always, that *Gion-Kan* would not be ſo mean, as to betray him, after all the good he had done him. He departed, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid to him, and went to prove, at the price of his Life, That no truſt is to be given to a wicked Man.

This Robber, who at firſt believed that he had numerous Troops following him, gave him the faireſt reception that could be, and entertained him

him with very great kindneſs and civility in appearance, placing his Souldiers here and there among his Subjects, with a ſtrict order to treat them well, and to give them what refreſhments the Countrey afforded: But when he found that he had not above two or three hundred Men in all, he quickly ſhow'd what he was. It is not known, whether he had not received ſome Letters from *Aureng-Zebe*, or whether his avarice had not been tempted by ſome Mules ſaid to be laden with Gold; which was all that could be ſaved hitherto, as well from the hands of Robbers, as of thoſe that conveyed it. Whatever it be, on a certain morning, when no body looked for any ſuch thing, all being taken up with the care of refreſhing themſelves, and believing all to be ſafe; behold this Traitor, who had beſtirr'd himſelf all night to get armed Men from all parts, fell upon *Dara* and *Sepe-Chekouh*, killed ſome of their Men that ſtood up to defend themſelves; forgot not to ſeize on the loads of the Mules,

Mules, and of all the Jewels of the Women; made *Dara* to be tyed fast upon an Elephant, commanding the Executioner to sit behind, and to cut off his head upon the least sign given, in case he should be seen to resist, or that any one should attempt to deliver him. And in this strange posture he was carried to the Army before *Tatabakar*, where he put him into the hands of *Mir-baba*, the General, who caused him to be conducted in the company of this same Traitor to *Lahor*, and thence to *Dehli*.

When he was at the Gates of *Dehli*, it was deliberated by *Aureng-Zebe*, whether he should be made to pass through the midst of the City, or no, to carry him thence to *Goualeor*. Many did advise, that that was by no means to be done; that some disorder might arise; that some might come to save him; and besides, that it would be a great dishonour to the Family Royal. Others maintained the contrary, *viz.* That it was absolutely necessary he should pass through the Town, to astonish

aſtoniſh the World, and to ſhew the abſolute Power of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to diſabuſe the People, that might ſtill doubt, whether it were himſelf, as indeed many *Omrahs* did doubt; and to take away all hopes from thoſe, who ſtill preſerved ſome affection for him. The Opinion of theſe laſt was followed; he was put on an Elephant, his Grand-child, *Sepe-Chekouh*, at his ſide; and behind them was placed *Bhadur-Kan*, as an Executioner. This was none of thoſe brave Elephants of *Ceilan* or *Pegu*, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt Harneſs and embroidered Covers, and Seats with Canopies very handſomely painted and gilt, to defend themſelves from the Sun: It was an old Caitiff Animal, very dirty and naſty, with an old torn Cover, and a pitiful Seat, all open. There was no more ſeen about him, that Necklace of big Pearls, which thoſe Princes are wont to wear, nor thoſe rich Turbants and Veſts embroider'd. All his Dreſs was a Veſt of courſe Linnen, all dirty, and a Turbant

bant of the ſame, with a wretched Scarf of *Kachimere* over his head, like a Varlet; his Grand-ſon, *Sepe-Chekouh*, being in the ſame equipage. In this miſerable poſture he was made to enter into the Town, and to paſs through the greateſt Merchant-ſtreets, to the end that all the People might ſee him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it was he.

As for me, I fancied we went to ſee ſome ſtrange Maſſacre, and was aſtoniſh'd at the boldneſs of making him thus paſs through the Town; and that the more, becauſe I knew that he was very ill guarded, neither was I ignorant, that he was very much beloved by the lower ſort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly againſt the cruelty and tyranny of *Aureng-Zebe*, as one that kept his Father in priſon, as alſo his own Son *Sultan Mahmoud*, and his Brother *Morad-Bakche*. I was well prepar'd for it, and with a good Horſe and two good Men I went, together with two others of my Friends, to place

my

my ſelf in the greateſt ſtreet, where he was to paſs. But not one Man had the boldneſs to draw his Sword, only there were ſome of the *Fakires*, and with them ſome poor people, who ſeeing that infamous *Gion-Kan* ride by his ſide, began to rail and throw ſtones at him, and to call him Traitor. All the ſhops were ready to break for the crowd of Spectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud Outcryes and Lamentations, Invectives, and Curſes, heaped on *Gion-Kan*. In a word, Men and Women, great and ſmall (ſuch is the tenderneſs of the hearts of the *Indians*) were ready to melt into tears for compaſſion; but not one there was that durſt ſtir to reſcue him. Now after he had thus paſſed through the Town, he was put into a Garden called *Heider-Abad*.

There were not wanting to tell *Aureng-Zebe*, how the People at this ſight had lamented *Dara*, and curſed the *Patan*, that had deliver'd him; and how the ſame was in danger to have been ſtoned to death, as alſo that there

there had been a great apprehenſion of ſome ſedition and miſchief. Hereupon another Council was held, whether he ſhould indeed be carried to *Goualeor*, as had been concluded before; or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death, without more ado? Some were of opinion, that he ſhould go to *Goualeor* with a ſtrong Guard, that that would be enough; *Danechmend-Kan*, though *Dara*'s old Enemy, inſiſting much upon that. But *Rauchenara-Begum*, in purſuance of her hatred againſt this Brother of hers, puſhed *Aureng-Zebe* to make him away, without running the danger there was in ſending him to *Goualeor*; as alſo did all his old Enemies, *Calil-ullah-Kan*, and *Chah-heſt-Kan*, and eſpecially a certain Flatterer, a Phyſitian, who was fled out of *Perſia*, firſt called *Hakim-Daoud*, and afterwards being become a great *Omrah* named *Takarrub-Kan*: This Villain boldly roſe up in a full Aſſembly, and cryed out, that it was expedient for the ſafety of the State to put him to death immediately,

and

and that the rather, becauſe he was no *Muſſulman*; that long ſince he was turn'd *Kafire*, Idolater, without Religion, and that he would charge the Sin of it upon his own head: Of which imprecation he ſoon after felt the ſmart; for within a ſhort time he fell into diſgrace, and was treated like an infamous Fellow, and dyed miſerably. But *Aureng-Zebe*, carried away by theſe inſtances and motives, commanded that he ſhould be put to death, and that *Sepe-Chekouh*, his Grandchild, ſhould be ſent to *Goualeor*.

The Charge of this Tragical Execution was given to a certain Slave, call'd *Nazer*, that had been bred by *Chah-Jehan*, and was known to have been formerly ill treated by *Dara*. This Executioner, accompanied with three or four Parricides more, went to *Dara*, who was then himſelf dreſſing ſome Lentils with *Sepe-Chekouh* his Grandchild. He no ſooner ſaw *Nazer*, but cryed out to *Sepe-Chekouh*, My dear Son, behold thoſe that come to kill us! laying hold at the ſame time of

a ſmall Knife, which was all the Arms that were left him. One of theſe Butchers immediately fell upon *Sepe-Chekouh*; the others, upon the arms and legs of *Dara*, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, 'till *Nazer* cut his throat. His Head was forthwith carried to the Fortreſs to *Aureng-Zebe*, who preſently commanded it to be put in a diſh, and that water ſhould be fetch'd; which when brought, he wiped it off with an Handkerchief, and after he had cauſed the Face to be waſhed clean, and the blood done away; and was fully ſatisfied that it was the very head of *Dara*, he fell a weeping, and ſaid theſe words; Ah *Bed-bakt!* Ah unfortunate Man! Take it away, and bury it in the Sepulchre of *Houmayon*.

At night, the Daughter of *Dara* was brought into the *Seraglio*, but afterwards ſent to *Chah-Jehan*, and *Begum-Saheb*, who asked her of *Aureng-Zebe*. Concerning *Dara*'s Wife, ſhe had ended her days before at *Lahor*: She had poyſon'd her ſelf, foreſeeing the

the extremities ſhe was falling into, together with her Husband. *Sepe-Chekouh* was ſent to *Goualeor*. And after a few days, *Gion-kan* was ſent for, to come before *Aureng-Zebe* in the Aſſembly: To him were given ſome Preſents, and ſo he was ſent away; but being near his Lands, he was rewarded according to his deſert, being killed in a Wood. This barbarous Man not knowing, or not conſidering, that if Kings do ſometimes permit ſuch Actions for their Intereſt, yet they abhor them, and ſooner or later revenge them.

In the mean time, the Governour of *Tatabakar*, by the ſame Orders that had been required of *Dara*, was obliged to ſurrender the Fortreſs. It was indeed upon ſuch a compoſition as he would have, but it was alſo with an intention not to keep word with him. For the poor Eunuch, arriving at *Lahor*, was cut in pieces, together with thoſe few Men he had then with him, by *Kalil-ullah-kan*, who was Governour thereof. But the reaſon of

the non-observance of the Capitulation was, that there was come intelligence, that he secretly prepar'd himself to go directly to *Soliman-Chekouh*, sparing no Gold, which under-hand he conveyed into the hands of our *Franguis*, and to all those that were come with him out of the Fortress to follow him, under pretext of accompanying him as far as *Dehli* to *Aureng-Zebe*, who had often said, that he should be very glad to see so gallant a Man, and who had so valiantly defended himself.

There remained therefore none of the Family of *Dara*, but *Soliman-Chekouh*, who could not easily be drawn away from *Serenaguer*, if the *Raja* had been steady to his first Declarations. But the secret practises of the *Raja Jesseigne*, the promises and threats of *Aureng-Zebe*, the death of *Dara*, and the other *Rajas* his Neighbours that had been gain'd, and were prepared by the Orders, and at the cost of *Aureng-Zebe*, to make War against him, did at last shake the Faith of this perfidious

Pro-

Protector, and made him conſent to their demands. *Sepe-Chekouh*, who was advertiſed of it, fled through the midſt of thoſe horrid Countries and fearful Deſarts, towards the great *Tibet*. But the Son of the *Raja*, ſoon purſuing and overtaking him, cauſed him to be aſſaulted with ſtones. The poor Prince was hurt, ſeized, and carried to *Dehli*, where he was impriſon'd in *Serenguer*, that little Fortreſs, where at firſt they had put *Morad-Bakche*.

Aureng-Zebe, to obſerve what he had practiſed towards *Dara*, and that no body might doubt it was *Soliman-Chekouh* himſelf, commanded him to be brought before him in the preſence of all the Grandees of the Court. At the entry of the Gate, the Chains were taken from his feet, leaving thoſe he had about his hands, which ſeemed gilt. When this proper young Man, ſo handſome and gallant, was ſeen to enter, there was a good number of *Omrahs* that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all

the great Ladies of the Court, that had leave to see him come in, fell a weeping. *Aureng-Zebe*, who appear'd himself to be touched at his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly to him, and to comfort him; telling him amongst other things, that he should fear nothing, that no hurt should be done to him; on the contrary, that he should be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had caused his Father to be put to death for no other reason, than that he was turn'd *Kafer*, and a Man without Religion. Whereupon this young Prince return'd him the *Salem*, and blessed him, abasing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the custom of the Countrey; and told him with resolution enough, That if he were to drink the *Ponst*, he intreated him that he might dye presently, being very willing to submit to his Fate. But *Aureng-Zebe* promised him publickly, that he should drink none of it; that he should rest satisfied as to that, and not

not entertain any ſad thoughts about it. This being ſaid, he once more repeated the *Salem*: And after they had asked him ſeveral Queſtions, in the Name of *Aureng-Zebe*, touching that Elephant which was charged with Roupies of Gold, taken from him when he went to *Serenaguer*, he was ſent to *Goualeor* to the reſt. This *Pouſt* is nothing elſe but Poppy expreſſed, and infuſed a night in water. And 'tis that potion, which thoſe that are kept at *Goualeor*, are commonly made to drink; I mean thoſe Princes, whoſe heads they think not fit to cut off: This is the firſt thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat 'till they have drunk a great cup full of it; they would rather let them ſtarve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them dye inſenſibly, they loſing little by little their ſtrength and underſtanding, and growing torpid and ſenſeleſs. And by this very means 'tis ſaid, that *Sepe-Chekouh*, and the Grand-child of *Morad-Bakche*, and *Soliman-Chekouh*, were diſpach'd.

As to *Morad-Bakche*, he was made away by a more violent death. For *Aureng-Zebe* seeing, that though he was in priſon, yet the generality had an inclination to him, and that many Verſes were ſpread in the praiſe of his Valour and Courage, thought himſelf not ſafe enough by putting him to death in private, by giving him *Pouſt* like others; apprehending, that his Death would be ſtill doubted of, and that that might one time or other occaſion ſome commotion, and therefore deviſed the following Charge againſt him.

The Children of a certain *Sayed*, very rich, whom he had cauſed to be put to death in *Amadevad*, to get his Eſtate, when he there made his preparations for War, and borrowed or took by force great Sums of Money from all the rich Merchants, appeared in full Aſſembly, making their complaints, and demanding Juſtice, and the Head of *Morad-Bakche*, for the Blood of their Father. Not one of the *Omrahs* durſt contradict it, both becauſe

cauſe he was a *Sayed*, that is, one of *Mahomet*'s Kindred, to whom great Veneration was paid; and that every body ſufficiently underſtood the deſign of *Aureng-Zebe*, taking this for a pretence to rid himſelf openly of *Morad-Bakche*, under a ſhew of Juſtice. So that the Head of him, that had killed the Father of the Plaintiffs, was granted them without any other form of Proceſs. Whereupon they went, with neceſſary Orders iſſued out for that purpoſe, to cut it off in *Goualeor*.

There remained no other Thorn in the Foot of *Aureng-Zebe* but *Sultan Sujah*, who kept himſelf ſtill in *Bengale*; but he alſo was forced to yield at laſt to the power and fortune of *Aureng-Zebe*. There were ſent ſo many Troops of all ſorts to *Emir-Jemla*, that at laſt he was encompaſſed on all ſides, both on this and that ſide of the River *Ganges*; ſo that he was neceſſitated to flye to *Dake*, which is the laſt Town of *Bengale* on the Sea ſide; and here comes the concluſion of this whole Tragedy. This

This Prince being deſtitute of Ships to put to Sea, and not knowing whither to flye, ſent his eldeſt Son, *Sultan Banque*, to the King of *Racan* or *Moy*, a Heathen or Idolatrous King, to know whether he would give him leave to make his Countrey his place of refuge only for ſome time, and do him the favour, when the *Mouſons* or the Seaſon-winds ſhould come, to furniſh him with a Veſſel for *Mecha*, from thence to paſs into ſome part of *Turky* or *Perſia*. That King ſent anſwer, that he ſhould be very welcome, and have all poſſible aſſiſtance. So *Sultan Banque* returned to *Dake* with ſome Galeaſſes, manned with *Franguis* (I mean, with thoſe fugitive *Portugals*, and other ſtraggling Chriſtians, that had put themſelves in ſervice to that King, driving no other Trade than to ravage all this lower *Bengale*;) upon which *Sultan Sujah* embarked, with his whole Family, *viz.* his Wife, his three Sons, and Daughters. They were well enough received; whatever was neceſſary for their ſub-

ſubſiſtence, ſuch as that Countrey would afford, was provided for them, in the name of that King. Some months paſs, the Seaſon of the favourable Winds come in, but not a word of the Veſſel, though he demanded it no otherwiſe than for his Money; for as yet he wanted not Rupies of Gold, nor Silver, nor Gems: He had too great a plenty of them; his Riches were, in all appearance, the cauſe of his ruin, or at leaſt contributed much to it. Thoſe barbarous Kings have no true generoſity, and are not much refrained by the Faith they have given, regarding nothing but their preſent Intereſts, without ſo much as conſidering the miſchiefs that may befall them for their perfidiouſneſs and brutality. To get out of their hands, one muſt either be the ſtronger, or have nothing that may tempt their avarice. *Sultan Sujah* may long enough ſollicit for a Veſſel; all is in vain, he effects nothing: On the contrary, the King begins to ſhew much coldneſs, and to complain of his not coming

coming to see him. I know not, whether *Sultan Sujah* thought it unworthy of himself, and too mean a thing to give him a Visit; or rather, whether he fear'd, that being in the Kings House he might not there be seized on, to take away all his Treasure, and then be deliver'd into the hands of *Emir-Jemla*, who for that purpose promised, in the name of *Aureng-Zebe*, great Sums of Money, and many other considerable advantages. Whatever the matter was, he would not go thither himself, but sent his Son *Sultan Banque*, who being near the Kings House, began to shew liberality to the people, throwing out to them a good quantity of half Rupies, and whole Rupies, of Gold and Silver. And being come before the King, he presented him with store of Embroideries, and of rare pieces of Goldsmiths-work, set with precious Stones of great value, excusing his Father, *Sultan Sujah*, as being indispos'd, and beseeching him in his name, that he would remember the Vessel,

Veſſel, and the promiſe made to him thereof. But all that did not advance his buſineſs; on the contrary, five or ſix days after, this King ſent to *Sultan Sujah*, to ask of him one of his Daughters in Marriage; which he could never reſolve to grant him, whereat this barbarous Prince was highly offended. What then could he do in this caſe? The Seaſon paſſeth away. What ſhall become of him? What other reſolution can he take, but to do a deſperate Action? Behold a ſtrange undertaking, which may give a great Example of what Deſpair can do!

Although this King of *Racan* be an Heathen, yet there is in his Dominions ſtore of *Mahumetans* mingled with the people, that are retired thither, or have been, for the moſt part, taken Slaves, here and there, by thoſe *Franguis* above-mention'd. *Sultan Sujah* did under-hand gain theſe *Mahumetans*; and with two or three hundred Men, whom he yet had remaining of thoſe that had follow'd him from

from *Bengale*, he resolved, one day to fall unexpectedly upon the House of this Barbarian, to kill all, and to make himself proclaim'd King of *Racan*. This was a very bold Enterprise, and such a one, as had more of a *Desperado* in it, than of a prudent Man. Yet notwithstanding, as I was inform'd, and by what I could learn from many *Mahumetans*, and *Portugals*, and *Hollanders*, that then were there present, the thing was feasible enough. But the day before the stroke was to be given, the Design was discover'd; which did altogether overthrow the Affairs of *Sultan Sujah*, and was soon after the cause of his ruin. For not finding hereafter any way more to recover himself, he attempted to flye towards *Pegu*; which was a thing in a manner impossible, by reason of the vast Mountains and Forrests to be past. Besides, he was immediately pursued so close, that he was overtaken the same day he fled. It may well be thought, that he defended himself with as much courage as was possible.

poſſible. He killed ſo many of thoſe Barbarians, that it will ſcarce be believed, but he was ſo overpow'red by the multitude of purſuers, that he was obliged to quit the Combat. *Sultan Banque*, who was not ſo far advanced as his Father, defended himſelf alſo like a Lion; but at length, being all bloody of the wounds, by ſtones poured upon him from all ſides, he was ſeized on, and carried away, with his two little Brothers, his Siſters, and Mother.

As to the Perſon of *Sultan Sujah* himſelf, all what could be learnt of it, is this: That he, with one Woman, one Eunuch, and two other perſons, got up to the Top of the Mountain; that he received a wound in his Head by a ſtone, which ſtruck him down, but yet he roſe again, the Eunuch having wound his Head about with his Turbant, and that they eſcaped through the midſt of the Woods.

I have heard the Relation three or four other manner of ways, even by thoſe perſons that were upon the place.

place. Some did assure, that he had been found among the dead, but was not well known: And I have seen a Letter of the Chief of the *Dutch* Factory, confirming this. So that 'tis difficult enough to know aright what is become of him. And this it is, which hath administred ground to those so frequent Allarms, given us afterwards at *Dehli:* For at one time it was rumored, that he was arrived at *Maslipatan*, to joyn with the Kings of *Golkonda* and *Visapour*; another time it was related for certain, that he had passed in sight of *Suratte* with two Ships, bearing the Red Colours, which the King of *Pegu* or the King of *Siam* had given him; by and by, that he was in *Persia*, and had been seen in *Chiras*, and soon after in *Kandahar*, ready to enter into the Kingdom of *Caboul* it self. *Aureng-Zebe* one day said smiling, that *Sultan Sujah* was at last become an *Agy* or Pilgrim. And at this very day there are abundance of persons who maintain, that he is in *Persia*, returned from *Constantinople*,

tinople, whence he is ſaid to have brought with him much Money. But that which confirms more than enough, that there is no ground for any of theſe reports, is that Letter of the *Hollanders*; and that an Eunuch of his, with whom I travelled from *Bengale* to *Maſlipatan*, as alſo the Great Maſter of his Artillery, whom I ſaw in the Service of the King of *Golkonda*, have aſſured me, that he is no more in being, though they made difficulty to ſay any more concerning him; as alſo, that our *French* Merchants, that lately came out of *Perſia* and from *Hiſpahan*, when I was yet at *Dehli*, had in thoſe parts heard no news at all of him; beſides that, I have heard that a while after his Defeat, his Sword and Poynard had been found: So that 'tis credible, that if he was not killed upon the place, he ſoon dyed afterwards, and was the prey of ſome Robbers, or Tygers, or Elephants, of which the Forreſts of that Countrey are full. However it be, after this laſt Action his whole Family

was put in Priſon, Wives and Children, where they were treated rudely enough; yet ſome time after they were ſet at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment: And then the King called for the eldeſt Daughter, whom he married.

Whilſt this was doing, ſome Servants of *Sultan Banque*, joyned with divers of thoſe Mahumetans which I have mentioned, went to plot another Conſpiracy like the firſt. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the Conſpirators, being half drunk, began too ſoon to break out. Concerning this alſo I have heard forty different relations, ſo that 'tis very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the King was at length ſo exaſperated againſt this unfortunate Family of *Sujah*, that he commanded it ſhould be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, ſave that Daughter which the King had made his Wife. *Sultan Banque*, and his Brothers, had their

their Heads cut off with blunt Axes; and the Women were mured up, where they dyed of hunger and misery.

And thus endeth this War, which the luſt of Reigning had kindled among thoſe four Brothers, after it had laſted five or ſix years, from 1655, or thereabout, to 1660 or 1661; which left *Aureng-Zebe* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of this puiſſant Empire.

The End of the FIRST TOME.

---

was put in Priſon, Wives and Children, where they were treated rudely enough; yet ſome time after they were ſet at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment: And then the King called for the eldeſt Daughter, whom he married.

Whilſt this was doing, ſome Servants of *Sultan Banque*, joyned with divers of thoſe Mahumetans which I have mentioned, went to plot another Conſpiracy like the firſt. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the Conſpirators, being half drunk, began too ſoon to break out. Concerning this alſo I have heard forty different relations, ſo that 'tis very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the King was at length ſo exaſperated againſt this unfortunate Family of *Sujah*, that he commanded it ſhould be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, ſave that Daughter which the King had made his Wife. *Sultan Banque*, and his Brothers, had their

their Heads cut off with blunt Axes; and the Women were mured up, where they dyed of hunger and misery.

And thus endeth this War, which the luſt of Reigning had kindled among thoſe four Brothers, after it had laſted five or ſix years, from 1655, or thereabout, to 1660 or 1661; which left *Aureng-Zebe* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of this puiſſant Empire.

The End of the FIRST TOME.

PARTICULAR EVENTS:

OR,

The moſt conſiderable Paſſages after the War, of 5 years, or thereabout,

IN THE

EMPIRE

OF THE

GREAT MOGOL.

Together with a

LETTER

CONCERNING

The Extent of INDOSTAN, the *Circulation* of the Gold and Silver at laſt ſwallow'd up there; the *Riches*, *Forces*, *Juſtice*, and the *Principal Cauſe* of the *Decay* of the STATES of *ASIA.*

TOM. II.

London, Printed by *William Godbid*, and are to be Sold by *Moſes Pitt.* 1676.

PARTICULAR EVENTS:

OR,

The most considerable Passages after the War for Five Years, or thereabout, in the Empire of the GREAT MOGOL.

THE War being ended, the *Tartars* of *Usbec* entertained thoughts of sending Ambassadors to *Aureng-Zebe*. They had seen him fight in their Countrey, when he was yet a young Prince; *Chah-Jehan* having sent him to command the Succours, which the *Kan* of *Samarkand* had desired of him against the *Kan* of *Balk*. They had experienced his Conduct and Valour

on many occaſions, and they conſider'd with themſelves, that he could not but remember the Affront they did him, when he was juſt taking *Balk*, the Capital Town of the Enemy: For the two *Kans* agreed together, and obliged him to retreat, alledging, that they apprehended he might render himſelf Maſter of their whole State, juſt as *Ekbar* had formerly done of the Kingdom of *Kachimere*. Beſides, they had certain intelligence of all he had done in *Indoſtan*, of his Battels, Fortune, and Advantages; whence they might ſufficiently eſtimate, that though *Chah-Jehan* was yet living, yet *Aureng-Zebe* was Maſter, and the only Perſon that was to be owned King of the *Indies*. Whether then they feared his juſt reſentments, or whether it was, that their inbred avarice and ſordidneſs made them hope for ſome conſiderable Preſent, the two *Kans* ſent to him their Ambaſſadors to offer him their Service, and to congratulate him upon the happy beginning of his Reign. *Aureng-Zebe* ſaw very well, that

that the War being at an end, this offer was out of ſeaſon, and that it was nothing but fear or hope, as we ſaid, that had brought them. Yet for all this, he received them honourably; and, ſince I was preſent at their Audience, I can relate the particulars of it with certainty.

They made their reverence at a conſiderable diſtance from him, after the *Indian* cuſtom, putting thrice their hands upon their heads, and as often letting them down to the ground. Then they approached ſo near, that *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf might very well have taken their Letters immediately from their hands; but yet it was an *Omrah* that took and open'd them, and gave them to him. He forthwith read them with a very grave countenance; and afterwards commanded, there ſhould be given to each of them an embroider'd Veſt, a Turbant, and a Girdle of Silk in Embroidery, which is that which they call *Ser-apah*, that is, an Habit from head to foot. After this, their Preſents were call'd for, which con-

consisted in some Boxes of choice *Lapis Lazulus*, divers Camels with long hair, several gallant Horses, some Camel-loads of fresh Fruit, as Apples, Pears, Raisins and Melons; (for 'tis chiefly *Usbec* that furnishes these sorts of Fruit, eaten at *Dehli* all the Winter long;) and in many loads of dry Fruit, as Prunes of *Bokara*, Aprecocks, Raisins without any stones that appeared, and two other sorts of Raisins, black and white, very large and very good.

Aüreng-Zebe was not wanting to declare, how much he was satisfied with the Generosity of the *Kans*, and much commended the beauty and rarity of the Fruit, Horses, and Camels; and after he had a little entertain'd them of the state of the Academy of *Samarkand*, and of the Fertility of their Countrey, abounding in so many rare and excellent things, he desired them to go and repose themselves, intimating withall, that he should be very glad to see them often.

They came away from their Audience full of contentment and joy, not

not being much troubled, that they had been obliged to make their reverence after the *Indian* cuſtome, though it have ſomething of ſlaviſh in it; nor much reſenting it, that the King had not taken their Letters from their own hands. I believe if they had been required to kiſs the ground, and even to do ſomething of a lower nature, they would have complied with it. 'Tis true, it would have been in vain, if they had deſired to make no other ſalute, but that of their own Countrey, and to deliver to the King their Letters with their own hands; for that belongs only to the Ambaſſadors of *Perſia*, nor have theſe this favour granted them, but with much difficulty.

They ſtay'd above four months at *Dehli*, what diligence ſoever they could uſe to be diſpatch'd, which did incommode them very much; for they fell almoſt all ſick, and even ſome of them dyed, becauſe they were not accuſtomed to ſuch heats as are in *Indoſtan*, or rather becauſe they were ſordid,

ſordid, and kept a very ill Diet. I know not whether there be a more avaricious and uncleanly Nation than they are. They laid up the Money, which the King had appointed them for their maintenance, and lived a very miſerable life, altogether unworthy of Ambaſſadors: Yet they were diſmiſſed with great honour: The King, in the preſence of all the *Omrahs*, preſented each of them with two rich *Ser-apahs*, and gave order, that eight thouſand Rupies ſhould be carried to their Lodgings, which amounted to near two thouſand Crowns each. He alſo gave them, for Preſents to the *Kans* their Maſters, very handſom *Ser-apahs*, ſtore of the richeſt and beſt wrought Embroideries, a good quantity of fine Cloth, and ſilk Stuffs, wrought with Gold and Silver, and ſome Tapeſtries, and two Poynards ſet about with precious ſtones.

During their ſtay, I went thrice to ſee them, being preſented to them as a Phyſitian by one of my Friends, that was Son of an *Usbec*, that had made

made his Fortune in that Court. I had a deſign to have learned ſomething in particular of their Countrey, but I found them ſo ignorant, that they knew not ſo much as the Confines of their State, much leſs could they inform me of any thing concerning the *Tartars* that have conquer'd *China* of late years: In ſhort, they told me nothing that I knew not before. I had once the curioſity to Dine with them, which liberty I obtained eaſily enough. They are not Men of much ceremony; it was a very extraordinary Meal for ſuch a one as I, it being meer Horſe-fleſh; yet for all this I got my Dinner with them; there was a certain Ragou, which I thought paſſable: And I was obliged to expreſs a liking of ſo exquiſit a diſh, which they ſo much luſt after. During Dinner there was a ſtrange ſilence; they were very buſie in carrying in with their whole hands, for they know not what a Spoon is; but after that this Horſe-fleſh had wrought in their ſtomachs, they began to talk, and then they would

would perſwade me, they were the moſt dextrous at Bows and Arrows, and the ſtrongeſt Men in the World. They call'd for Bows, which are much bigger than thoſe of *Indoſtan*, and would lay a wager, to pierce an Oxe or my Horſe through and through. Then they proceeded to commend the ſtrength and valour of their Women, which they deſcribed to me quite otherwiſe than the *Amazons*; telling me very wonderful ſtories of them, eſpecially one, which would be admirable indeed, if I could relate it with a *Tartarian* Eloquence, as they did: They told me, that at the time when *Aureng-Zebe* made War in their Countrey, a Party of Twenty five or Thirty *Indian* Horſemen came to fall upon a ſmall Village; whilſt they plundred, and tyed all thoſe whom they met with to make them Slaves, an old Woman ſaid to them: Children, be not ſo miſchievous, my Daughter is not far off, ſhe will be here very ſhortly, retreat if you be wiſe, you are undone if ſhe light upon you.

you. They laughed at the old Woman, and her advice, and continued to load, to tye, and to carry away her ſelf; but they were not gone half a Mile, but this old Woman, looking often backward, made a great out-cry of joy, perceiving her Daughter coming after her on Horſe-back; and preſently this generous She-*Tartar*, mounted on a furious Horſe, her Bow and Arrows hanging at her ſide, called to them at a diſtance, that ſhe was yet willing to give them their Lives, if they would carry back to the Village all they had taken, and then withdraw without any noiſe. The advice of this young Woman affected them as little as that of her old Mother; but they were ſoon aſtoniſh'd, when they found her let fly at them in a moment three or four great Arrows, which ſtruck as many of their Men to the ground, which forced them to fall to their Quivers alſo. But ſhe kept her ſelf at that diſtance from them, that none of them could reach her. She laughed at all their effort, and

at

at all their Arrows, knowing how to attack them at the length of her Bow, and to take her meaſure from the ſtrength of her Arm, which was of another temper than theirs: So that after ſhe had killed half of them with her Arrows, and put them into diſorder, ſhe came and fell upon the reſt with the Zable in her hand, and cut them all in pieces.

The Ambaſſadors of *Tartary* were not yet gone away from *Dehli*, when *Aureng-Zebe* fell exceeding ſick; a violent and continued Fever made him ſometimes loſe his underſtanding: His tongue was ſeized with ſuch a Palſie, that he loſt almoſt his ſpeech, and the Phyſitians deſpaired of his recovery; nothing was heard for the time, than that he was gone, and that his Siſter *Rauchenara-Begum* concealed his death out of deſign. It was already bruited, that the *Raja Jeſſomſeigne*, Governour of *Guzaratte*, was on the way to deliver *Chah-Jehàn*; that *Mohabet-Kan* (who had at length obeyed the Orders of *Aureng-Zebe*) quitting the Government

ment of *Caboul*, and being already on this ſide *Lahor* to come back, made haſt alſo with three or four thouſand Horſe for the ſame end; and that the Eunuch *Etbar-kan*, who kept *Chah-Jehan* in the Fortreſs of *Agra*, would have the honour of his delivery. On one ſide we ſee *Sultan Mazum* beſtir himſelf exceedingly with bribes, endeavouring by promiſes to aſſure himſelf of the *Omrahs*, ſo far as that one night he went diſguized to the Raja *Jeſſeigne*, entreating him with expreſſions of deep reſpect, that he would engage himſelf for his intereſt.

We knew from other hands, that *Rauchenara-Begum*, together with *Teday-kan*, the Great Maſter of Artillery, and many *Omrahs*, declared for the young Prince *Sultan Ekbar*, the third Son of *Aureng-Zebe*, though he was but ſeven or eight years old; both parties in the mean time pretending, they had no other deſign than to deliver *Chah-Jehan*: So that the people believed, that now he was going to be ſet at liberty, though none of the

Grandees had any ſuch thing in their thoughts, ſpreading this rumour only to gain credit and concourſe, and becauſe they feared, leaſt by the means of *Ethar-kan*, or ſome other ſecret intrigue, he ſhould one day appear in the Field. And indeed of all the parties, there was not one that had reaſon to wiſh for his liberty and reſtoration to the Throne, except *Jeſſomſeigne*, *Mohabet-kan*, and ſome others, that as yet had done no great matter to his diſadvantage. The reſt had been all againſt him, at leaſt they had vilely abandon'd him. They knew very well he would be like an unchain'd Lyon, if he came abroad: Who then could truſt him? And what could *Ethar-kan* hope for, who had kept him up ſo cloſe? I know not, if by ſome adventure or other, he ſhould have come out of priſon, whether he would not have ſtood ſingle, and been alone of his party.

But though *Aureng-Zebe* was very ſick, yet for all this he gave order for all things, and particularly for the ſure

ſure cuſtody of *Chah-Jehan* his Father; and though he had adviſed *Sultan Mazum* to go and open the Gates to *Chah-Jehan*, in caſe he ſhould die, yet he omitted not to have *Ethar-kan* inceſſantly writ to. And the fifth day, in the height of his ſickneſs, he cauſed himſelf to be carried into the Aſſembly of the *Omrahs* to ſhew himſelf, and to diſabuſe thoſe who might believe him to be dead, and to obviate popular tumults, or ſuch accident as might have cauſed *Chah-Jehan* to be ſet at liberty. The ſeventh, ninth, and tenth day, he made himſelf to be carried again into the ſaid Aſſembly for the ſame reaſon; and, what is almoſt incredible, the thirteenth, after he had recollected himſelf from a fit of ſwounding, which occaſioned a rumor through the whole Town of his being dead, he called for two or three of the greateſt *Omrahs*, and the Raja *Jeſſeigne*, to let them ſee that he was alive; made himſelf to be raiſed in his bed, called for Ink and Paper to write to *Ethar-kan*, and ſent for the Great Seal;

which he had truſted with *Rauchenara-Bagum*, and commonly encloſed in a ſmall bag, ſealed with a Seal he always wore about his arm, fearing leſt ſhe had already made uſe of it for her deſigns. I was nigh my *Agah*, when all this news was told him, and I underſtood, that lifting up his hands to Heaven he ſaid, What a Soul is this? A matchleſs fortitude and courage of ſpirit! God preſerve thee *Aureng-Zebe*, for greater things; certainly he will not that thou ſhouldeſt yet die. And indeed after this fit he recover'd by little and little.

He had no ſooner recover'd his health, but he ſought to get out of the hands of *Chah-Jehan*, and *Begum-Saheb*, the Daughter of *Dara*, to ſecure the marriage of *Sultan-Ekbar*, his third Son, with this Princeſs; on purpoſe thereby to gain him Authority, and to give him the greater right to the Empire; For he it is, who is thought to be by him deſigned for it. He is yet very young, but he hath many near and powerful Relations at the Court, and is born of the Daughter of *Chah-Navaze-*

Navaze-kan, and conſequently of the Bloud of the Antient Soveraigns of *Machate*; whereas *Sultan Mahmoud* and *Sultan Mazum* are only Sons of *Ragipontnis*, or Daughters of Raja's. Theſe Kings, though Mahumetans, do, for all that, marry of the Daughters of the Heathen, either for State-intereſt, or for extraordinary Beauty. But *Aureng-Zebe*, was diſappointed in this deſign; It will hardly be believed, with what height and fierceneſs of ſpirit *Chah-Jehan* and *Begum* rejected the Propoſition, and the Young Princeſs her ſelf, who in the fear of being carried away, was for ſome days deſperate, and proteſted ſhe would rather kill her ſelf an hundred times over, if it were poſſible, than to marry the Son of him that had murthered her Father.

He had no better ſatisfaction from *Chah-Jehan* about certain Jewels which he asked of him, in order to finiſh a piece of work which he cauſed to be added to a famous Throne, which is ſo highly eſteemed. For he fiercely anſwer'd, that *Aureng-Zebe* ſhould take

no other care but to rule better then he did; that he ſhould let his Throne alone; that he was weary to hear of theſe Jewels, and that the Hammers were ready to beat them to duſt the firſt time he ſhould be importun'd again about them.

The *Hollanders* would not be the laſt in doing reverence to *Aureng-Zebe*: they had thoughts of ſending an Ambaſſador to him. They pitched upon Monſieur *Adrican*, the Commander of their Factory at *Suratte*; and being a right honeſt man, and of good ſenſe and judgment, not neglecting to take the counſel of his friends, he well acquitted himſelf of this employment. *Aureng-Zebe*, though he carries it very high, and affects to appear a zealous Mahumetan, and conſequently to diſpiſe the *Franguis* or Chriſtians, yet thought fit to receive them with much reſpect and civility. He even was deſirous, that this Ambaſſador ſhould complement him in the mode of the *Franguis*, after he had been made to do it the *Indian* way. 'Tis true, he received

yed his Letters by the hand of an *Omrah*; but *that* was not to be taken for any contempt, he having ſhew'd no more honour to the Ambaſſadors of *Usbec*. After this, he intimated to him, that he might produce his Preſent; and at the ſame time he cauſed him, and ſome of his Train, to be dreſſed with a *Ser-Apah* embroider'd. The Preſent conſiſted of ſtore of very fine Scarlet, ſome large Looking-glaſſes, and divers excellent pieces of Chineſe and Japoneſe work, among which there was a *Paleky*, and a *Tackravan*, or a Field-Throne of admirable workmanſhip.

This Ambaſſadour was not ſo ſoon diſpatch't as he wiſh'd, it being the cuſtom of the Kings of *Mogol* to detain Ambaſſodours as long as they well can, from a belief they have, that 'tis the intereſt of their Greatneſs, to oblige Strangers to give long attendance at their Court; yet he was not kept ſo long as the Ambaſſadours of *Usbec*. Mean time he had the misfortune, that his Secretary died there, and the reſt

of his Retinue began to grow ſick. When the King diſmiſſed him, he gave him ſuch another *Ser-Apah* embroider'd, as the firſt was for himſelf; and another, a very rich one, for the General of *Batavia*, together with a Poynard, ſet about with Jewels, all accompanied with a very obliging Letter.

The chief aim of the *Hollanders* in this Embaſſy was, to make themſelves immediately known to the King, thereby to gain credit, and to intimidate the Governours of the Sea-ports, and other places, where they have their Factories; that ſo they may not attempt, when they pleaſe, to inſult over them, or to trouble them in their Trade; thereby letting them know, that they had to do with a potent Nation, and that hath a door open to addreſs themſelves, and to complain immediately to the King. Their end alſo was, to make it appear, what intereſt the King had in their Commerce; and therefore they ſhew'd long Rolls of Commodities, bought up by them through the whole Kingdom, and

and Lifts of conſiderable ſums of Gold and Silver, every year brought thither by them; but ſaying not a word of thoſe which they draw thence, from the Copper, Lead, Cinamon, Cloves, Muſcadin, Pepper, Wood of Aloes, Elephants, and other Commodities which they vend there.

About this time, one of the moſt conſiderable *Omrah*'s of *Aureng-Zebe* addreſſed himſelf to him, and repreſented, that this multitude and variety of perplexing affairs, and this perpetual attention of mind in him, might ſoon cauſe a great alteration in his temper, and a dangerous inconvenience in his health. But *Aureng-Zebe*, ſeeming to take almoſt no notice of what that *Omrah* ſaid, turn'd himſelf another way, and approaching to another of the prime *Omrah*'s of the Court, a perſon of great knowledge and judgment, ſpoke to him in this purpoſe (as I was informed by the Son of this Lord, who was my friend.)

You other Sages, are you not all of the mind, that there are times and conjunctions

ons

ons ſo urgent, that a King ought to hazard his life for his Subjects, and ſacrifice himſelf for their Defence with Arms in his hands? And yet this Effeminate Man would diſſwade me from taking pains, and dehort me from watching and ſollicitude for the Publick; and carry me by pretences of Health, to the thoughts of an eaſie life, by abandoning the Government of my People, and the management of affairs, to ſome Viſir or other. Doth he not know, that Providence having given me a Royal Extraction, and raiſed me to the Crown of Indoſtan, *hath not made me for my ſelf alone, but for the good and ſafety of the Publick, and for the procurement of tranquility and happineſs to my Subjects, as far as that nay be obtained by Juſtice and Power? He ſeeth not the conſequence of his Counſels, and what miſchiefs do attend Viſirſhips. Doth he think it to be without reaſon what out Grand* Sady *hath ſo generouſly pronounced; O Kings, ceaſe, ceaſe to be Kings, or govern your Kingdoms your ſelves? Go tell thy Country-man, that I ſhall well like of the care he is conſtantly to take of the faithful diſcharge of his Place; but*

but adviſe him alſo, not any more to run out himſelf ſo far as he hath done. We have natural *inclination enough to a long, eaſie, and careleſs life, and there need no Counſellors to ſhake off buſineſs and trouble. Our Wives, that lye in our boſom, do too often, beſides our own genius, incline us that way.*

At the ſame time there happen'd an accident, that made a great noiſe at *Dehli*, eſpecially in the Seraglio, and diſabuſed a great many, that could as hardly believe as my ſelf, that Eunuchs, though they had their Genitals quite cut away, could become amorous as other men. *Didar-kan*, one of the chief Eunuchs of the Seraglio, who had built an houſe, where he came often to divert himſelf, fell in love with a very beautiful Woman, the Siſter of a Neighbour of his, that was an Heathen Scrivener.

Theſe Amours laſted a good while before any body blamed them, ſince it was but an Eunuch that made them, which ſort of men have the priviledge to go where they pleaſe; but the

famili-

familiarity grew ſo great, and ſo extraordinary betwixt the two Lovers, that the Neighbours began to ſuſpect ſomething, and to rally the Scrivener, which did ſo touch him, that he threatned both his Siſters and the Eunuch to kill them if they ſhould continue their commerce. And ſoon after, finding them in the night lying together, he ſtabbed the Eunuch out-right, and left his Siſter for dead. The whole Seraglio, Women and Eunuchs, made a league together againſt him to make him away; but *Aureng-Zebe* diſſipated all theſe machinations, and was content to have him turn Mahumetan. Mean time 'tis thought, he cannot long avoid the malice and power of the Eunuchs; for 'tis not, as is the common ſaying, with Men as with Bruits; theſe latter become gentler and more tractable when they are caſtrated; but men more vicious, and commonly very inſolent, though ſometimes it turneth to an admirable fidelity and gallantry.

It was alſo about the ſame time, that *Aureng-*

Aureng-Zebe was ſomewhat diſcontented with *Rauchenara-Begum*, becauſe ſhe was ſuſpected to have given acceſs to two Young Gallants into the Seraglio, who were diſcover'd and brought before *Aureng-Zebe*. Yet this being but a ſuſpicion, he expreſſed to her no great reſentment of it; nor did he make uſe of ſo great rigour and cruelty againſt thoſe poor men, as *Chah-Jehan* had done againſt the perſon above ſpoken of. The matter was related to me by an old Portugueſe Woman (that had a long while been ſlave to the Seraglio, and went out and in at pleaſure) as followeth: She told me that *Rauchenara-Begum*, after ſhe had drawn from a young man, hidden by her, all his abillty, deliver'd him to ſome Women to convey him away in the night thorough ſome Gardens, and ſo to ſave him: But whether they were diſcover'd, or whether they feared they ſhould be ſo, or what elſe might be the cauſe, they fled, and left him there wandring in the midſt of thoſe Gardens, not knowing which way to get

out

out: And being at last met with, and brought before *Aureng-Zebe*, who examined him strictly, but could draw nothing else from him, than that he was come in over the walls, he was commanded to get out the same way by which he entred: But it seems, the Eunuchs did more than *Aureng-Zebe* had given order for, for they cast him down from the top of the walls to the bottom. As for the other Young Gallant, this same Woman assured me, that he was found wandring in the Garden like the first; and having confessed that he was come in by the Gate, *Aureng-Zebe* commanded likewise, that he also should pass away again by the same Gate; yet reserving to himself a severe chastisement for the Eunuchs, since not only the honour of the Royal House, but also the safety of the Kings person is herein concerned.

Some months after, there arrived at *Dehli* several Ambassadours, almost at the same time. The first was Xerif of *Meccha*, whose Present did consist in some Arabian Horses: The second and

and third Ambaſſador were, he of the King of *Hyeman*, or *Happy Arabia*, and he of the Prince of *Baſſora*, who likewiſe preſented Arabian horſes. The two remaining Ambaſſadors were ſent from the King of *Ethiopia*. To the three firſt no great regard was given; they appear'd in ſo miſerable and confuſed an Equipage, that it was perceived they came only to get ſome money by the means of their Preſent, and of the many Horſes and other Merchandiſe, which under the pretence of Ambaſſadors, entred without paying any duty into the Kingdom, there to be ſold, and to buy for the money a quantity of Indian Stuffs, and ſo to return without paying likewiſe any Impoſt at all.

But as to the *Ethiopian* Embaſſy, that deſerves to be otherwiſe taken notice of; the King of *Ethiopia* having received the news of the Revolution of the *Indies*, had a deſign to ſpread his Name in thoſe parts, and there to make known his Grandeur and Magnificence by a ſplendid Embaſſy; or, as malice will have

have it; or rather as the very truth is; to reap some advantage by a present as well as the rest. Behold therefore this great Embassy! He chose for his Ambassadors two persons, that one would think were the most considerable in his Court, and the most capable to make such a design prosper. And who were they? the *one* was a Mahumetan Merchant, whom I had seen some years ago at *Moka*, when I passed there coming out of *Egypt* over the *Red-Sea*, where he was to sell some Slaves for that Prince, and to buy of the money, raised thence, some Indian Commodities. And this is the fine Trade of that Great *Christian* King of *Africa*. The *other* was a Christian Merchant of *Armenia*, born and married in *Aleppo*, known in *Ethiopia* by the name of *Murat*. I had seen him also at *Moka*, where he had accomodated me with the half of his Chamber, and assisted me with very good advice, whereof I have spoken in the beginning of this History, as a thing taking me off from passing into *Ethiopia*, according to my first design.

He

He alſo came every year to that place, in that Kings Name, for the ſame end that the Mahumetan did, and brought the Preſent which the King made every year, to the Gentlemen of the Engliſh and Dutch Company of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and carried away theirs. Now the King of *Ethiopia*, ſutably to his deſign, and the deſire he had of making his Ambaſſadors appear with great ſplendour, put himſelf to great expences for this Embaſſie: He gave them thirty two young Slaves, of both Sexes, to ſell them at *Moka*, and thence to make a ſum of Money to bear their Charges. A wonderful largeſs! Slaves are commonly ſold there for twenty five or thirty Crowns a piece, one with another. A conſiderable ſum. Beſides, he gave them for a Preſent to the *Great Mogol* five and twenty choice Slaves, among which there were nine or ten very young, proper to make Eunuchs of. A very worthy Preſent for a King, and he a Chriſtian, to a Mahumetan Prince! It ſeems the Chriſtianity of the *Ethiopians* is very diffe-

rent from ours. He added to that Preſent, twelve Horſes, eſteem'd as much as thoſe of *Arabia*, and a kind of little Mule, of which I ſaw the Skin, which was a very great Rarity, there being no Tyger ſo handſomely ſpeckled, nor Silken Stuff of *India* ſo finely, ſo variouſly, and ſo orderly ſtreaked, as that was. Moreover, there were for a part of the Preſent, two Elephants Teeth, ſo prodigious, that they aſſured it was all that a very able-bodied man could do to lift up one of them from the ground. Laſtly, an Horn of an Oxe full of Civett, and ſo big, that the aperture of it being meaſur'd by me, when it came to *Dehli*, it had a Diameter of half a Foot, and ſomewhat better. All things being thus prepared, the Ambaſſadors depart from *Gondez*, the Capital of *Ethiopia*, ſituated in the Province of *Dambea*, and came through a very troubleſome Countrey to *Betloul*, which is a diſpeopled Sea-Port over againſt *Moka*, nigh to *Babel-mandel*, not daring to come (for reaſons elſewhere to be

be alledged) the ordinary way of the *Caravans*, which is made with eaſe in forty dayes to *Arkiko*, and thence to paſs to the Iſle of *Maſoua*. During their ſtay at *Beiloul*, and expecting a Bark of *Moka*, to waft over the *Red Sea*, there died ſome of their Slaves, becauſe the Veſſel tarried, and they found not in that place thoſe refreſhments that were neceſſary for them. When they came to *Moka*, they ſoon ſold their Merchandiſe to raiſe a ſtock of Money according to order. But they had this ill luck, that that year the Slaves were very cheap; becauſe the Market was glutted by many other Merchants; yet they raiſed a ſum to purſue their Voyage: They embark'd upon an Indian Veſſel to paſs to *Suratte*: Their paſſage was pretty good; they were not above five and twenty daies at Sea; but whether it was that they had made no good proviſion, for want of ſtock, or what elſe the cauſe might be, many of their Slaves and Horſes, as alſo the Mule, whereof they ſaved the Skin, died.

They were no ſooner arrived at *Suratte*, but a certain Rebel of *Viſapour*, called *Seva-Gi*, came and ranſcked and burned the Town, and in it their houſe, ſo that they could ſave nothing but their Letters, ſome Slaves that were ſick, or which *Seva-Gi* could not light on, their *Ethiopian* Habits which he cared not for, and the Mules Skin, and the Oxes Horn, which was already emptied of the Civett. They did very much exaggerate their misfortune; but thoſe malicious *Indians* that had ſeen them arrive in ſuch a wretched condition, without proviſions, without habits, without money, or Bills of Exchange, ſaid, that they were very happy, and ſhould reckon the Plunder of *Suratte* for a piece of their beſt Fortune, foraſmuch as *Seva-Gi* had ſaved them the labour of bringing their miſerable Preſent to *Dehli*, and had furniſht them with a very ſpecious pretence for their beggarly condition, and for the ſale they had made of their Civet and of ſome of their Slaves, and for demanding of the

the Governour of *Suratte* proviſions for their ſubſiſtance; as alſo ſome Money and Chariots to continue their voyage to *Dehli*. Monſieur *Adrican*, chief of the Dutch Factory, my friend, had given to the Armenian *Murat* a Letter of recommendation to me, which he deliver'd himſelf at *Dehli*, not remembring that I had been his Hoſt at *Moka*. It was a very pleaſant meeting when we came to know one another, after the ſpace of five or ſix years. I embraced him affectionately, and promiſed him that I would ſerve him in whatever I could; but that, though I had acquaintance at the Court, it was impoſſible for me to do them any conſiderable good office there: For ſince they had not brought with them any valuable Preſent, but only the Mules Skin, and the empty Oxes Horn, and that they were ſeen going upon the ſtreets without any Paleky or Horſes, ſave that of our Father Miſſionary, and mine (which they had almoſt killed) cloathed like Beggars, and followed with ſeven or eight Slaves, bare-head-

ed and bare-foot, having nothing but an ugly Sharſe tyed between their Legs, with a ragged Cloth over their left Shoulder, paſſing under their left Arm like a Summer-Cloak; ſince, I ſaid, they were in ſuch a poſture, whatever I could ſay for them was inſignificant; they were taken for Beggars, and no body took other notice of them. Yet notwithſtanding I ſaid ſo much of the Grandeur of their King to my *Agah Danechmendkan*, who had cauſe to hearken to me, as managing all forreign affairs there, that *Aureng-Zebe* gave them Audience, received their Letters, preſented them each with an embroider'd Veſt, a ſilken embroider'd Girdle, and a Turbant of the ſame, gave order for their entertainment, and diſpatched them in a little time, and that with more honour than there was ground to expect: For in diſmiſſing them, he preſented them each with an other ſuch Veſt, and with 6000 Rupies for them all, which amounteth to about 3000 Crowns, of which the Mahumetan had four thouſand,

ſand, and *Murat*, becauſe a Chriſtian, but two thouſand. He alſo gave them for a Preſent to their Maſter a very rich *Ser-apah* or Veſt, two great ſilver and guilt Trumpets, two ſilver Tymbals, a Poynard cover'd with Jewels, and the value of about twenty thouſand Francs in Golden and Silver Rupies, to let their King ſee Money coyned, as a Rarity he had not in his Countrey: But *Aureng-Zebe* knew very well that theſe Rupies would not go out of the Kingdom, and that they were like to buy commodities for them: And it fell out ſo; for they laid them out, partly in fine Cotton Cloth, to make ſhirts of for their King, Queen, and their only lawful Son that is to be the Succeſſor; partly in ſilken ſtuffs ſtreaked with Gold or Silver, to make Veſts and Summer-Drawers of; partly in Engliſh Scarlet, to make two Arabian Veſts of for their King alſo; and laſtly, in Spices, and in ſtore of courſer Cloth, for divers Ladies of his Seraglio, and for the children he had by them; all without paying any duty.

For all my friendſhip with *Murat*, there were three things that made me almoſt repent to have ſerved them. The *firſt*, becauſe *Murat* having promiſed me to leave with me for 50 Rupies, a little Son of his, that was very pretty, of a delicate Black, and without ſuch a ſwelled Noſe, or ſuch thick Lips as commonly the *Ethiopians* have, broke his word with me, and let me know, that he ſhould take no leſs for him than 300 Rupies. For all this, I had thoughts of Buying him, for rarities ſake, and that I might ſay, a Father had ſold me his Son. The *ſecond*, becauſe I found, that *Murat*, as well as the *Mahumetan*, had obliged themſelves to *Aureng-Zebe*, that they would employ their intereſt with their King, that he might permit in *Ethiopia* to rebuild an old *Moſquee* ruined in the time of the *Portugals*, and which had been Built for a Tomb of a great *Dervich*, which went from *Mecha* into *Ethiopia* for the propagation of *Mahumetaniſm*, and there made great progreſs. They received of *Aureng-Zebe* two

two thouſand Rupies for this engagement. This *Moſquee* had been pulled down by the *Portugals*, when they came with their ſuccors into *Ethiopia*, which the then King, who turn'd Catholick, had asked of them againſt a *Mahumetan* Prince, Invading his Kingdom. The third, becauſe they deſired *Aureng-Zebe*, in the name of their King, to give them an *Alcoran*, and eight other Books, which I well remember, were of the moſt reputed in the *Mahumetan* Religion: Which proceeding ſeemed to me very unworthy of a *Chriſtian* Embaſſadour, and *Chriſtian* King, and confirmed to me what I had been told at *Moka*, that the *Chriſtianity* of *Ethiopia* muſt needs be ſome odd thing; that it ſavours much of *Mahumetaniſme*, and that the *Mahumetans* increaſe exceedingly in that Empire, eſpecially ſince the *Portugals*, that came in there for the reaſon lately expreſſed, were either killed, upon the death of the King, by the Cabal of the Queen Mother, or expelled together, with the Patriarch Jeſuite, whom

whom they had brought along from *Goa*.

During the time that the Ambaſſadors were at *Dehli*, my *Agah*, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was preſent, to inform himſelf of the State and Government of their Country, and principally to learn ſomething of the ſource of the *Nile*, which they call *Ababile*, of which they diſcourſed to us as a thing ſo well known, that no body doubted of it. *Murat* himſelf, and a *Mogol*, who was returned out of *Ethiopia* with him, had been there, and told us very near the ſame particulars with thoſe I had received of it at *Moka*; *viz.* That the *Nile* had its Origine in the Country of *Agaus*; that it iſſued out of the Earth by two Springs bubling up, near to one another, which did form a little Lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that coming out of this Lake, it did make a conſiderable River: and that from ſpace to ſpace it received ſmall Rivers increaſing it.

They

They added, that it went on circling, and making as 'twere a great Isle; and that afterwards it tumbled down from steep Rocks into a great Lake, in which there were divers fruitfuls Isles, store of Crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true) abundance of Sea-calves, that have no other vent for their Excrements than that, by which they take in their food; this Lake being in the Country of *Dambea*, three small daies journey from *Gondar*, and four or five dayes journey from the source of the *Nile*: And lastly, that this River did break out of this Lake, being augmented with many River-waters, and with several Torrents falling into it, especially in the Rainy Season (which do regularly begin there, as in the *Indies* about *July*, which is very considerable and convincing for the inundation of the *Nile*) and so runs away through *Sonnar*, the capital City of the King of *Fungi*, Tributary to the King of *Ethiopia*, and from thence passeth to the Plains of *Mesre*, which is *Egypt*.

The

whom they had brought along from *Goa*.

During the time that the Ambaſſadors were at *Dehli*, my *Agah*, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was preſent, to inform himſelf of the State and Government of their Country, and principally to learn ſomething of the ſource of the *Nile*, which they call *Ababile*, of which they diſcourſed to us as a thing ſo well known, that no body doubted of it. *Murat* himſelf, and a *Mogol*, who was returned out of *Ethiopia* with him, had been there, and told us very near the ſame particulars with thoſe I had received of it at *Moka*; *viz.* That the *Nile* had its Origine in the Country of *Agaus*; that it iſſued out of the Earth by two Springs bubling up, near to one another, which did form a little Lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that coming out of this Lake, it did make a conſiderable River: and that from ſpace to ſpace it received ſmall Rivers increaſing it.

They

They added, that it went on circling, and making as 'twere a great Isle; and that afterwards it tumbled down from steep Rocks into a great Lake, in which there were divers fruitfuls Isles, store of Crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true) abundance of Sea-calves, that have no other vent for their Excrements than that, by which they take in their food; this Lake being in the Country of *Dambea*, three small daies journey from *Gondar*, and four or five dayes journey from the source of the *Nile*: And lastly, that this River did break out of this Lake, being augmented with many River-waters, and with several Torrents falling into it, especially in the Rainy Season (which do regularly begin there, as in the *Indies* about *July*, which is very considerable and convincing for the inundation of the *Nile*) and so runs away through *Sonnar*, the capital City of the King of *Fungi*, Tributary to the King of *Ethiopia*, and from thence passeth to the Plains of *Mesre*, which is *Egypt*.

The

The Ambaſſadors were not wanting to ſay more than was liked on the ſubject of their Kings Greatneſs, and of the ſtrength of his Army; but the *Mogolian* did not over-much agree with them in it; and in their abſence repreſented to us this Army, which he had ſeen twice in the field, with the *Ethiopian* King on the head of it, as the moſt wretched thing in the World.

They alſo related to us divers particulars of that Country, which I have put in my Journal, one day perhaps to be digeſted and copied: In the mean time I ſhall inſert here three or four things which *Murat* told me, becauſe I eſteem them very extravagant for a *Chriſtian* Kingdom. He ſaid then, that there were few men in *Ethiopia*, who beſides their lawful Wife, had not many others, and himſelf owned that he had two, without reckoning her which he had left at *Aleppo*: That the *Ethiopian* Women did not ſo hide themſelves, as they do in the *Indies* among the *Mahumetans*, nor

nor even as among the *Gentils*: *That* thoſe of the meaner ſort of People, Maids or Married Women, Slaves or Free, were often together pell-mell, night and day, in the ſame Chamber, without thoſe jealouſies ſo common in other Countries: That the Women of Lords did not ſtick much to go into the Houſe of a ſimple Cavalier, whom they knew to be a man of Execution: *That* if I had gone into *Ethiopia*, they would ſoon have obliged me to Marry, as they had done, a few years ſince, to a certain *European*, who named himſelf a *Greek* Phyſician: *That* an ancient man, of about fourſcore years of age, did one day preſent to the King fourſcore Sons, all of age, and able to bear Arms; and that the King asked him, Whether he had no more but them? To whom having anſwer'd, No, but only ſome Daughters, the King ſent him away with this reproach; Begone, thou Calf, and be aſhamed for having no more Children at that age, as if Women were wanting in my Dominions!

That

That the King himself had at least four-score Sons and Daughters running about pell-mell in the Seraglio, for whom he had caused to be made a number of round vernished sticks, made like a little maze; those Children being fond of having that in their hand like a Scepter, distinguishing them from those that were Children of Slaves, or from others living in that place.

Aureng-Zebe sent also twice for these Ambassadors, for the same reason that my *Agah* did, and especially to enquire after the state of *Mahumetanism* in that Country. He had also the curiosity of Viewing the skin of the Mule, which remained, I know not how, in the Fortress amongst the Officers; which was to me a great mortification, because they had designed it for me for the good services I had done them. I made account to have one day presented it to some very curious person in *Europe*. I urged often, that together with the Mules skin, they should carry the great Horn to *Aureng-Zebe*,

Zebe, to ſhew it him; but they fear'd, leaſt he ſhould make a queſtion, which would have perplexed them; *viz.* how it came to paſs, that they had ſaved the Horn from the plunder of *Suratte*, and loſt the Civet?

Whilſt theſe Ambaſſadors of *Ethiopia* were at *Dehli*, it came to paſs that *Aureng-Zebe* called together his Privy Councel, and the moſt learn'd perſons of his Court, to chuſe a new Maſter for his third Son, *Sultan Eckbar*, whom he deſign'd for his Succeſſor. In this Councel he ſhew'd the paſſion he hath to have this young Prince well Educated, and to make him a great Man. *Aureng-Zebe* is not ignorant of what importance it is, and how much 'tis to be wiſhed, that as much as Kings ſurmount others in greatneſs, they may alſo exceed them in Virtue and Knowledge. He alſo well knows, that one of the principal ſources of the Miſery, of the miſ-Goverment, of the un-Peopling, and the decay of the Empires of *Aſia* proceeds from thence, that

that the children of the Kings thereof are brought up only by Women and Eunuchs, which often are no other than wrecthed Slaves of *Russia*, *Circassia*, *Mingrelia*, *Gurgistan* and *Ethiopia*; mean and servile, ignorant and insolent souls. These Princes become Kings, when they are of age, without being instructed, and without knowing what 'tis to be a King; amazed when they begin to come abroad out of the Seraglio, as persons coming out of another World, or let out of some subterraneous Cave, where they had lived all their life time; wondring at every thing they meet, like so many Innocents; believing all, and fearing all, like Children, or nothing at all, as if they were stupid: And all this, according to their Nature, and sutable to the first Images imprinted upon them; commonly high and proud, and seemingly grave, but of that kind of pride and gravity, which is so flat and distasteful, and so unbecoming them, that one may plainly see, 'tis noehing but brutality or barbarousnes,

and

and the effect of ſome ill-ſtudied and ill-digeſted Documents; or elſe they fall into ſome childiſh civilities, yet more unſavoury; or into ſuch cruelties, as are blind and brutal; or into that mean and groſs vice of drunkenneſs, or into an exceſſive and altogether unreaſonable Luxury, either ruining their bodies and underſtandings with their Concubines, or altogether abandoning themſelves to the pleaſures of Hunting, like ſome carniverous Animals, preferring a pack of Dogs before the life of ſo many poor people, whom they force to follow them in the purſuit of their Game, and ſuffer to periſh of hunger, heat, cold, and miſery. In a word, they alwayes run into ſome extreme or other, being altogether irrational and extravagant, according as they are carried by their natural temper, or by the firſt impreſſions that are given them; thus remaining, almoſt all, in a ſtrange ignorance of what concerns the ſtate of the Kingdom; the reins of the Government being abandoned to ſome

Viſir, who entertains them in their ignorance and in their paſſions, which are the two ſtrongeſt ſupports he can have to rule alwayes according to his own mind, with moſt aſſurance, and the leaſt contradiction; and given over alſo to thoſe Slaves their Mothers, and to their Eunuchs, who often know nothing but to continue plots of cruelty, whereby they ſtrangle and baniſh one another, and ſometimes the Viſirs, and even the Grand Signors themſelves; ſo that no man whatſoever, that hath any Eſtate, can be in ſafety of his life.

But to return; after all theſe Ambaſſadors, which we have ſpoken of, there came at laſt news, that the Ambaſſador of *Perſia* was upon the frontiers. The *Perſian* Omrah's, that are at the ſervice of the *Mogol*, ſpred a rumor that he came for affairs of great importance; though intelligent perſons much doubted of a Commiſſion of that nature, conſidering that the time of great conjunctures was paſſed, and that thoſe *Omrahs*, and the other *Perſi-*

ans

ans did what they did, rather to make a ſhow, than for any thing elſe. Mean time, on the day of the Entry, this Ambaſſador was received with all poſſible reſpect: The *Bazars*, through which he paſſed, were all new-painted, and the Cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole League. Many *Omrah's* accompanied him with Muſick, Tymbals and Trumpets, and when he entred into the Fortreſs, or the Palace of the King, the Guns went off. *Aureng-Zebe* received him with much civility, and was content he ſhould make his Addreſs to him after the *Perſian* mode, receiving alſo, without any ſcruple, *immediately* from his hands the Letters of his King; which, out of reſpect, he lifted up even to his head, and afterwards read them with a grave and ſerious countenance: Which done, he cauſed an embroider'd Veſt to be brought, together with a rich Turbant and Girdle, commanding it to be put on him in his preſence. A little after, it was intimated to him, that he might

order his Present to be brought in; which consisted of five and twenty as handsome Horses as ever I saw, led, and cover'd with embroider'd trappings; and of twenty very stately and lusty Camels, as big as Elephants: Moreover, of a good number of Boxes, said to be full of most excellent Rose-water; and of a certain distilled water, very precious, and esteemed highly cordial; besides, there were displayed five or six very rich and very large Tapisseries, and some embroider'd pieces exceeding Noble, wrought in small flowers, so fine and delicate, that I know not whether in all *Europe* any such can be met with. To all this were added four Damaskin'd Swords, with as many Poynards, all cover'd with Jewels; as also five or six Harnasses of Horses, which were much esteem'd, being also very fine and rich, the stuff being raised with rich Embroidery set with small Pearls, and very fair Turcoises of the old Rock.

It was observ'd, that *Aureng-Zebe* beheld this Present very attentively; that

that he admired the beauty and rarity of every piece, and that ſeveral times he extolled the Generoſity of the King of *Perſia*; aſſigning to the Ambaſſador a place among his chief *Omrahs*. And after he had entertained him a while with a diſcourſe about the inconveniencies and hardſhips of his Voyage, he diſmiſt him, and made inſtance, that he ſhould come every day to ſee him.

During the four or five Months that the Ambaſſador ſtaid at *Dehli*, he was always ſplendidly treated at *Aureng-Zebe*'s charge; and the greateſt *Omrahs* preſented him one after another; and at laſt he was very honourably diſmiſſed: For *Aureng-Zebe* had him apparell'd with another rich *Serapah* or Veſt, to which he added conſiderable preſents for himſelf, reſerving thoſe he intended for his King, 'till he ſhould ſend an Ambaſſador expreſly; which ſometime after he did.

Notwithſtanding all theſe teſtimonies of honour and reſpect which *Aureng-Zebe* had ſhew'd to this Am-

baſſador, the ſame *Perſians*, above-ſpoken of, gave out, that their King had ſenſibly reproached him in his Letters, with the Death of *Dara*, and the impriſonment of *Chah-Jehan*, as actions unworthy of a Brother, and a Son, and a Muſulman; and that he had alſo hit him with the word *Aum-Guire*, or Conquerour of the World, which *Aureng-Zebe* had cauſed to be engraven on his Coyn. But 'tis hard to believe, that the King of *Perſia* ſhould do any ſuch thing to provoke ſuch a Victorious Prince, ſince *Perſia* is not in a condition to enter into a War with *Indoſtan*; I am rather apt to believe, that *Perſia* hath work enough to keep *Kandahar* on the ſide of *Indoſtan*, and the Frontiers on the ſide of *Turky*: Its Forces and Riches are known; it produceth not always ſuch great Kings as the *Chah-Abbas*, Valiant, Intelligent, and Politick, knowing to make uſe of every thing, and to do much with ſmall expences. If it were in a condition of undertaking any thing againſt *Indoſtan*, or really ſenſible

ſenſible of Piety and the Muſal-Man Faith, why was it that in theſe laſt troubles and Civil Wars, which continued ſo long in *Indoſtan*, the *Perſians* ſat ſtill and looked on, when *Dara*, *Chan-Jehan*, *Sultan Sujah*, and perhaps the Governour of *Caboul* deſired their aſſiſtance; and they might with no very great Army, nor great expences have ſeized on the faireſt part of *India*, beginning from the Kingdom of *Caboul*, unto the River *Indus*, and beyond it, and ſo made themſelves Umpires of all things? yet notwithſtanding there muſt needs have been ſome offenſive expreſſions in thoſe *Perſian* Letters, or elſe the Ambaſſador muſt have done or ſaid ſomething that diſpleaſed *Aureng-Zebe*; becauſe two or three daies after he had diſmiſſed him, he made a rumour to be ſpread-abroad, that the Ambaſſador had cauſed the Ham-ſtrings of the preſented Horſes to be Cut; And the Ambaſſador being yet upon the Frontiers, he made him return all the *Indian* Slaves which he carried along

with him, of which he had a prodigious number.

Mean while, *Aureng-Zebe* was not ſo much concern'd, nor troubled himſelf ſo much with this Ambaſſador, as *Chah-Jehan*, upon a like occaſion, did with him, that was ſent to him from the Great *Chah-Abbas*. When the *Perſians* are in the humor of Rallying againſt the *Indians*, they relate theſe three or four little Stories of them: They ſay, that *Chah-Jehan* ſeeing that the Courtſhip and promiſes made to their Ambaſſador were not able to prevail with him, ſo as to make him perform his ſalute after the *Indian* Mode, he deviſed this artifice; he commanded to ſhut the great Gate of the Court of the *Amkas*, where he was to receive him, and to leave only open the Wicket, through which one man could not paſs but very difficultly, by ſtooping and holding down his Head, as the faſhion is when one maketh an *Indian* Reverence, to the end that it might be ſaid, he had made the Ambaſſador put himſelf

ſelf in a poſture which was ſomething lower than the *Indian* Salam or Salute; but that that Ambaſſador being aware of this trick, came in with his Back fore-moſt: And that *Chah-Jehan*, out of indignation to ſee himſelf catch'd, told him, *Eh-Bed-bakt*, Thou Wretch, doſt thou think thou comeſt into a Stable of Aſſes, ſuch as thou art? And that the Ambaſſador, without any alteration, anſwered; Who would not think ſo, ſeeing ſuch a little Door?

Another ſtory is this; That at a certain time *Chah-Jehan* taking ill ſome courſe and fierce anſwers return'd to him by the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, could not hold to tell him; What, hath *Chah-Abbas* no other men at his Court, that he muſt ſend to me ſuch a Fool as thy ſelf? And that the Ambaſſador anſwer'd; He hath many better and wiſer men than me, but *to ſuch a King, ſuch an Ambaſſador:* They add, that on a certain day *Chah-Jehan*, who had made the Ambaſſador to Dine in his Preſence, and ſought ſome occaſion

caſion to affront him, ſeeing that he was buſie in picking and gnawing of Bones, asked him ſmiling, *Eh Kitchy-Gi*, My Lord Ambaſſador, *What ſhall the Dogs eat?* And that he anſwer'd readily, *Kichery*, that is, a diſh of Pulſe, which is the Food of the meaner ſort of People, and which he ſaw *Chah-Jehan* eat, becauſe he loved it.

They ſay alſo, that *Chah-Jehan* once asked him, What he thought of his new *Dehli* (which he was building) in compariſon of *Hiſpahan?* and that he anſwer'd aloud, and with an oath, *Billah, Billah, Hiſpahan doth not come near the duſt of Dehli*; which *Chah-Jehan* took for a high commendation, though the Ambaſſador mocked him, becauſe the duſt is ſo troubleſome at *Dehli*.

Laſtly, they relate that *Chah-Jehan* one day preſſing him to tell him, What he thought of the Grandeur of the Kings of *Indoſtan*, compared to that of the Kings of *Perſia?* He anſwer'd, That, in his opinion, one could not better

better compare the Kings of *India* than to a large Moon of 15 or 16 daies old, and those of *Persia*, to a small Moon of 2 or 3 dayes. And that this answer did at first please *Chah-Jehan*, but that soon after he perceived, that that comparison did him but little honour, the Ambassadors sense being, that the Kings of *Indostan* were decreasing, and those of *Persia* increasing.

Whether these points are so commendable, and such marks of wit, every one is free to judge, as he seeth cause. My opinion is, that a discreet and respectful gravity is much more becoming Ambassadors, than rallery and roughness, especially, when they have to do with Kings, who will not be rallied with, witness an accident that befell this very Ambassador; for *Chah-Jehan* was at length so weary of him, and his freedom, that he called him no otherwise than Fool; and one day gave secret order, that when he should enter into a pretty long and narrow Stree, that is near the Fortress, to come to the Hall of the *Assembly*, they

should

ſhould let looſe upon him an ill-conditioned and fierce Elephant; and certainly, if the Ambaſſador had not nimbly lept out of his *Paleky*, and, together with his dextrous attendants, ſhot ſome Arrows into the Trump of the Elephant, which forced him to turn back, he had been utterly ſpoiled.

It was at this time, upon the departure of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, that *Aureng-Zebe* received with that admirable wiſdome his Tutor *Mallah-Sale*, the Hiſtory of which is rare and conſiderable. This old man, who long ſince had retired himſelf towards *Caboul*, and ſetled himſelf on ſome Lands, which *Chah-Jehan* had given him, had no ſooner heard of the great fortune of *Aureng-Zebe* his Diſcipline, who had overcome *Dara* and all his other Brothers, and was now King of *Indoſtan*, but he came in haſt to the Court, ſwelled with hopes of being preſently advanced to no leſs than the dignity of an *Omrah*. He maketh his Court, and endeavours to engage all his friends, and *Rauchenara-Begum*, the Kings

Kings Sister employs her self for him. But yet there pass three whole Months, that *Aureng-Zebe* does not so much as seem to look upon him; till at length wearied to have him always at his Elbow, and before his Face, he sent for him to a place apart, where there was no body but *Hakim-lul-Mouluk*, *Danech-mend-kan*, and three or four of those *Omrahs*, that pretend to Science, and then spoke to him to this effect (as I was informed by my *Agah.*)

What is it you would have of me Doctor? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief Omrahs *of my Court? Let me tell you, if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just: For I am of this perswasion, that a Child well educated and instructed, is as much, at least, obliged to his Master as to his Father: But where are those good Documents you have given me? In the first place you have taught me, that all that* Frangistan (so it seems they call *Europe*) *was nothing, but I know not what little Island, of which the greatest King was he of* Portugal, *and*

next

next to him he of Holland, *and after him he of* England; *and as to the other Kings, as those of* France *and* Andalusia, *you have represented them to me as our petty* Raja's; *telling me, that the Kings of* Indostan *were far above them all together, and that they were the true and only* Houmajons, *the* Ekbars, *the* Jehan-Guyres, *the* Chah-Jehans, *the* Fortunate *ones, the* Great *ones, the* Conquerors *and* Kings of the World; *and that* Persia *and* Usbec, Kach-guer, Tatar *and* Catay, Pegu, China, *and* Matchina *did tremble at the name of the Kings of* Indostan: *Admirable Geography! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different States of the World, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their Customs, Religions, Governments & Interests; and by the perusal of solid History, to observe their Rise, Progress, Decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors, those great Changes and Revolutions of Empires and Kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learnt of you the name of my Grandsires, the famous Founders of this Empire;*

Empire; ſo far were you from having taught me the Hiſtory of their Life, and what courſe they took to make ſuch great Conqueſts. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian *Tongue, to read and to write, I am much obliged to you (forſooth) for having made me loſe ſo much time upon a Language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the Son of a King ſhould think it to be an honour to him, to be a Grammarian or ſome Doctor of the Law, and to learn other Languages than thoſe of his Neighbors, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom Time is ſo precious for ſo many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any ſpirit that did not with ſome reluctancy, and even with a kind of debaſement, employ it ſelf in ſo ſad and dry an exerciſe, ſo long ſom and tedious, as is that of learning Words.*

Thus did *Aureng-Zebe* reſent the pedantick Inſtructions of his Tutor; to which 'tis affirmed in that Court, that after ſome entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following reproof.

'Know

'Know you not, that Childhood 'well govern'd, being a ſtate which is 'ordinarily accompanied with an hap-'py memory, is capable of thouſands 'of good Preceps and Inſtructions, 'which remain deeply impreſſed the 'whole remainder of a mans life, and 'keep the mind alwayes raiſed for great 'actions? The Law, Prayers, and 'Sciences, may they not as well be 'learned in our Mother-Tongue, as in 'Arabick? You told my Father '*Chah-Jehan*, that you would teach 'me Philoſophy. 'Tis true, I remem-'ber very well, that you have enter-'tain'd me for many years with airy 'Queſtions, of things that afford no 'ſatisfaction at all to the mind, and 'are of no uſe in humane ſociety, emp-'ty Notions, and meer Phancies, that 'have only this in them, that they are 'very hard to underſtand, and very ea-'ſie to forget, which are only capable 'to tire and ſpoil a good underſtand-'ing, and to breed an Opinion that is 'inſupportable. I ſtill remember, that 'after you had thus amuſed me, I

'know

'know not how long, with your fine 'Philoſophy, all I retained of it, was 'a multitude of barbarous and dark 'words, proper to bewilder, perplex, 'and tire out the beſt wits, and only 'invented, the better to cover the va-'nity and ignorance of men like your 'ſelf, that would make us believe, 'that they know all, and that under 'thoſe obſcure and ambiguous words, 'are hid great myſteries, which they 'alone are capable to underſtand: If 'you had ſeaſon'd me with that Philo-'ſophy, which formeth the mind to 'ratiocination, and inſenſibly accu-'ſtoms it to be ſatisfied with nothing 'but ſolid reaſons; if you had given 'me thoſe excellent precepts and do-'ctrines, which raiſe the Soul above 'the aſſaults of Fortune, and reduce 'her to an unſhakeable and always e-'qual temper, and permit her not to 'be lifted up by proſperity, nor deba-'ſed by adverſity; if you had taken 'care to give me the knowledge of 'what we are, and what are the firſt 'principles of things; and had aſſiſted

'me in forming in my mind a fit Idea
'of the greatneſs of the Univerſe, and
'of the admirable order and motion
'of the parts thereof; if, I ſay, you
'had inſtilled into me this kind of
'Philoſophy, I ſhould think my ſelf
'incomparably more obliged to you
'than *Alexander* was to his *Ariſtotle*;
'and believe it my duty to recompence
'you otherwiſe, than he did him.
'Should not you, inſtead of your
'flattery, have taught me ſomewhat
'of that point ſo important to a King,
'which is, what the reciprocal duties
'are of a Soveraign to his Subjects,
'and thoſe of Subjects, to their Sove-
'raign? And ought not you to have
'conſider'd, that one day I ſhould be
'obliged with the Sword to diſpute
'my Life and the Crown with my Bro-
'thers? Is not that the deſtiny almoſt
'of all the Sons of *Indoſtan*? Have
'you ever taken any care to make me
'learn, what 'tis to beſiege a Town,
'or to ſet an Army in array? For theſe
'things I am obliged to others, not at
'all to you. Go, and retire to the Vil-
'lage,

'lage, whence you are come, and let 'no body know who you are, or what 'is become of you.

At that time there aroſe a kind of Tempeſt againſt *Aſtrologers*, which did not diſpleaſe me. Moſt people of *Aſia* are ſo infatuated by *Judiciary Aſtrology*, that they believe there is nothing done here below, but 'tis written above (for ſo they ſpeak.) In all their undertakings therefore they conſult Aſtrologers. When two Armies are ready to give Battel, they beware of falling on, till the Aſtrologer hath taken and determined the moment he fancies propitious for the beginning of the Combat. And ſo, when the matter is about electing a Captain-General of an Army, of diſpatching an Ambaſſador, of concluding a Marriage, of beginning a Voyage, and of doing any other thing, as buying a Slave, putting on new Apparel, *&c.* nothing of all that is done without the ſentence of Mr. Star-Gazer; which is an incredible vexation, and a cuſtom drawing after it ſuch important conſequen-

ces, that I know not how it can subsist so long. For the Astrologer must needs have knowledge of all that passeth, and of all that is undertaken from the greatest Affairs to the least.

But behold, it happen'd, that the Prime Astrologer of the King was drown'd, which occasioned a great noise at Court, and was a great discredit to Astrology: For he being the person that determined the moments of all enterprizes and actions for the King, and the Omrahs, every one wondred, how a man so experienced, and that for so long time had dispensed good adventures to others, could not foresee his own misfortune. There were not wanting those, who pretended to be wiser than others, and said, that in *Frangistan*, where Sciences did flourish, the Grandees do suspect all such kind of people, and that some hold them even no better than Mountebanks, that 'tis much doubted, whether this Knowledge is grounded upon good and solid rea-

reaſons, and that it may very well be ſome fancy of Aſtrologers, or rather an artifice to make themſelves neceſſary to the Great ones, and to make them in ſome meaſure to depend on them.

All theſe diſcourſes very much diſpleaſed the Aſtrologers; but nothing angred them ſo much as this Story, become very famous, *viz.* That the Great *Chah-Abas* King of *Perſia*, commanded to be digged and prepared a little place in his Seraglio to make a Garden; that the young Trees were all ready, and that the Gardner made account to plant them the next day. Mean time the Aſtrologer taking upon him, ſaid, that a good nick of time was to be obſerved for planting them, to make them proſper. *Chah-Abas* being content it ſhould be ſo, the Star-gazer took his Inſtruments, turned over his Books, made his Calculation, and concluded, that by reaſon of ſuch and ſuch a Conjunction and Aſpect of the Planets, it was neceſſary they ſhould be ſet preſently. The Maſter-Gardner, who

minded nothing leſs than this Aſtrologer, was not then at hand; yet for all that, they fell to work immediately, making holes, and planting the Trees, *Chah-Abas* himſelf ſetting them, that it might be ſaid, that they were Trees ſet with *Chah-Abas*'s own hands. The Gardner returning at night, was ſufficiently amazed when he ſaw the work done; and finding that the right place and order deſigned by him, was not taken; that, for example, an Apricock-tree ſtood where an Apple-tree ſhould ſtand, and a Pear-tree where an Almond-tree; being heartily angry with the Aſtrologer, cauſed all the Trees to be plucked up again, and laid them down, with ſome Earth about them, for next morning, the time choſen by himſelf. The news hereof came ſoon to the Ears of the Aſtrologer, who preſently told *Chah-Abas* of it: He forthwith ſent for the Gardner, and with ſome indignation asked him, What had made him ſo bold as to pull up thoſe Young Trees he had planted with his own hand; that the time

time had been ſo exactly taken for them, that ſo good an one would never be had again; and that ſo he had marred all. The rude Gardner, who had a Cup of *Chiras*-wine in his head, look'd aſide upon the Aſtrologer, and grumbling and ſwearing, ſaid to him theſe words, *Billah*, *Billah*, that muſt needs be an admirable point of time which thou haſt taken for theſe Trees; unhappy Aſtrologer! They were planted this day Noon, and this Evening they have been plucked up again. When *Chah-Abas* heard this, he fell a laughing, turned his back upon the Aſtrologer, and went away.

I ſhall here add two particulars, though hapned in the time of *Chah-Jehan*, becauſe ſuch things fall out often enough, and do withal give occaſion to obſerve that ancient and barbarous cuſtom, which makes the Kings of *India* Heirs of the goods of thoſe that die in their ſervice: The firſt was of *Neiknamkan*, one of the moſt ancient Omrahs of the Court, and who for the ſpace of 40 or 50 years, wherein

had alwayes been employ'd in confiderable Offices, had heaped up great ſtore of Gold and Silver. This Lord ſeeing himſelf near his end, and thinking upon this unreaſonable cuſtom, which often renders the Wife of a great man, upon his deceaſe, poor and miſerable in an inſtant, and neceſſitates her to preſent a Petition begging ſome ſmall penſion for her ſubſiſtence and for that of her Children, who are conſtrained to liſt themſelves for common Souldiers under ſome Omrah; who, I ſay, conſidering this with himſelf, ſecretly diſtributed all his Treaſure to indigent Knights and poor Widows, filled his Trunks with old pieces of Iron, old ſhoes, rags and bones, and locked and ſealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to *Chah-Jehan* the King. Theſe Trunks, after his Death, were brought before *Chah-Jehan*, when he was in the Aſſembly, and by his command inſtantly opened in the preſence of all the Omrahs, that ſaw all this fine Stuff, which ſo provo- and diſcompoſed *Chah-Jehan*, that he

he roſe in great fury, and went away.

The *other* is only a piece of Gallantry. A rich *Banean*, or Heathen Merchant, being a great Uſurer (as moſt of them are) who had alwayes been in employment, and in the pay of the King, came to die. Some years after his death, his Son did extremely importune the Widow, his Mother, to let him have ſome Money: She finding him to be a prodigal and debauched Youth, gave him as little as ſhe could. This young Fool, by the perſwaſion of others like himſelf, made his Complaints to *Chah-Jehan*, and was ſo ſilly, as to diſcover to him all the goods his Father had left, which amounted to two hundred thouſand Rupies, or hundred thouſand Crowns. *Chah-Jehan*, who ſoon got an itch for this treaſure, ſent for the Widow, and commanded her in the open Aſſembly to ſend him an hundred thouſand Rupies, and to give fifty thouſand to her Son, giving order at the ſame time to put her away. The old Woman, though

ſur-

had alwayes been employ'd in confiderable Offices, had heaped up great ſtore of Gold and Silver. This Lord ſeeing himſelf near his end, and thinking upon this unreaſonable cuſtom, which often renders the Wife of a great man, upon his deceaſe, poor and miſerable in an inſtant, and neceſſitates her to preſent a Petition begging ſome ſmall penſion for her ſubſiſtence and for that of her Children, who are conſtrained to liſt themſelves for common Souldiers under ſome Omrah; who, I ſay, conſidering this with himſelf, ſecretly diſtributed all his Treaſure to indigent Knights and poor Widows, filled his Trunks with old pieces of Iron, old ſhoes, rags and bones, and locked and ſealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to *Chah-Jehan* the King. Theſe Trunks, after his Death, were brought before *Chah-Jehan*, when he was in the Aſſembly, and by his command inſtantly opened in the preſence of all the Omrahs, that ſaw all this fine Stuff, which ſo provo- and diſcompoſed *Chah-Jehan*, that he

he roſe in great fury, and went away.

The *other* is only a piece of Gallantry. A rich *Banean*, or Heathen Merchant, being a great Uſurer (as moſt of them are) who had alwayes been in employment, and in the pay of the King, came to die. Some years after his death, his Son did extremely importune the Widow, his Mother, to let him have ſome Money: She finding him to be a prodigal and debauched Youth, gave him as little as ſhe could. This young Fool, by the perſwaſion of others like himſelf, made his Complaints to *Chah-Jehan*, and was ſo ſilly, as to diſcover to him all the goods his Father had left, which amounted to two hundred thouſand Rupies, or hundred thouſand Crowns. *Chah-Jehan*, who ſoon got an itch for this treaſure, ſent for the Widow, and commanded her in the open Aſſembly to ſend him an hundred thouſand Rupies, and to give fifty thouſand to her Son, giving order at the ſame time to put her away. The old Woman, though

ſur-

ſurprized at this Command, and perplext enough, that ſhe was ſo ſuddenly thruſt out, without the liberty of ſpeaking, yet loſt not her judgment, but with a loud voice gave out, that ſhe had ſomething of moment to diſcover to his Majeſty: Whereupon being brought in again, ſhe ſaid, *God ſave your Majeſty; I find that my Son hath ſome reaſon to demand of me the Goods of his Father, as being of his and my fleſh and blood, and therefore our Heir; but I would gladly know, what Kindred your Majeſty is to my deceaſed Husband, to be his Heir.* When *Chah-Jehan* heard ſo plain a piece of rallery, and a diſcourſe of Parentage of the King of the *Indies* with a ſhe-Banian or Idolatrous ſhe-Merchant, he could not hold laughing, and commanded ſhe ſhould be gone, and that nothing ſhould be asked of her.

But to return, I ſhall not relate all the other conſiderable things that have happened ſince the end of the War, that is, ſince 1660, unto my departure, which was above ſix years after; though

though doubtleſs that would tend much to the deſign I had in relating the other particulars, which is, to make known the Genius and Temper of the *Mogols* and *Indians*. This I may do in another place: Here I ſhall only give an account of five or ſix particulars, which thoſe that ſhall have read this Relation, will doubtleſs be curious of.

The *firſt*, that though *Aureng-Zebe* made *Chah-Jehan* his Father, to be kept in the Fortreſs of *Agra* with all imaginable care and caution; yet notwithſtanding he ſtill left him in his old Apartment with *Begum-Saheb*, his Eldeſt Daughter, his other Women, Singers, Dancers, Cooks, and others; nothing of that kind was wanting to him. There were alſo certain *Mullahs*, that were permitted to come and to read the *Alcoran* to him (for he was become very devout.) And when he thought fit, there were brought before him brave Horſes, and tamed *Gazelles* (which is a kind of Goat) to make them fight with one another; as alſo divers

divers ſorts of Birds of prey, and ſeveral other rare Animals, to divert him as formerly. *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf uſed an art to overcome at laſt his fierceneſs and obſtinacy, which he had hitherto kept, though a priſoner. And this was the effect of the obliging Letters, full of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, which he often wrote to his Father, conſulting him often as his Oracle, and expreſſing a thouſand cares for him; ſending him alſo unceſſantly ſome pretty Preſent or other; whereby *Chah-Jehan* was ſo much gained, that he alſo wrote very often to *Aureng-Zebe* touching the Government and State-affairs, and of his own accord ſent him ſome of thoſe Jewels, which before he had told him of, that Hammers were ready to beat them to powder the firſt time he ſhould again ask for them. Beſides, he conſented that the Daughter of *Dara*, which he had ſo peremptorily denied, ſhould be deliver'd to him; and granted him at length that pardon and paternal bleſſing which he had ſo often deſired with-

without obtaining it. Yet, under all this, *Aureng-Zebe* did not alwayes flatter him; on the contrary, he ſometimes return'd ſharp anſwers, when he met with ſtrains in his Fathers Letters that were pregnant, or expreſſed ſomething of his former height and authority. Of this we may judge by the Letter, which I know from a very good hand was once written to him by *Aureng-Zebe*, to this effect:

Sir, You would have me indiſpenſably follow thoſe ancient Cuſtoms, and make my ſelf Heir to all thoſe that are in my pay with the wonted rigour: An Omrah, and even a Merchant can no ſooner die, and ſometimes even before his death, but we ſeal up his Trunks, and ſeize on his goods, and make a ſtrict enquiry into his Eſtate, impriſoning and ill-treating the Officers of the Houſe to diſcover to us all he hath, even to the leaſt Jewels. I will believe that there is ſome policy in doing ſo, but it cannot be denied, that 'tis very rigorous, and ſometimes very unjuſt; and to ſpeak the very truth, we may deſerve well enough, that the ſame ſhould befal us every day,

what

what happned to you from your Neikman kan, *and from the Widow of your rich Indian Merchant. Moreover* (ſaid he) *it ſeems, I am by you reputed proud and haughty now I am King: As if you knew not by the experience of more than forty years of your Reign, how heavy an Ornament a Crown is, and how many ſad and reſtleſs nights it paſſeth through: as if I could forget that excellent paſſage of* Mir-Timur (*commonly called* Tamberlan) *which is ſo ſeriouſly delivered to us by that Great Granfather of ours,* Ekbar, *to the end that we might the more weigh the importance and value of it, and conſider, whether we have cauſe to pride our ſelves ſo much in a Crown. You well know, that he ſaid, that the ſame day when* Timur *took* Bajazet, *he made him come before him, and having fixed his eyes on him, fell a laughing; at which* Bajazet *being highly offended, fiercely ſaid to him,* Laugh not at my Fortune, *Timur*; know that 'tis God that is the Diſpenſer of Kingdoms and Empires; and that the ſame can befal you to morrow, that hath befallen me to day. *Where-*

upon

upon Timur *made this ſerious and brave Anſwer*; I know as well as you, *Bajazet*, that 'tis God that diſtributeth Kingdomes and Empires; I laugh not at your ill Fortune; God forbid I ſhould do ſo: But beholding your face, I ſmiled, and had this thought, That certainly theſe Kingdomes and Empires muſt in themſelves be very little and contemptible things in the eyes of God, ſince he giveth them to perſons ſo ill made as You and I both are; a deformed one-eyed man, as you; and a lame wretch, as my ſelf. *You require alſo, that abandoning all my other employments, which I believe very neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment and happineſs of this State, I ſhould think on nothing but Conqueſts, and the enlargement of the Empire. I muſt confeſs that this is indeed the buſineſs of a great Monarch, and of a Soul truly Royal, and that I ſhould not deſerve to be of the Blood of the Great* Timur, *if I were not of that mind, and had not ſuch inclinations. Mean time, I think I ſit not idle, and my Armies are not uſeleſs in the Kingdoms of* Decan *and*

Ben-

Bengale: *But we muſt alſo aver, that the greateſt Conquerors are not alwayes the greateſt Kings; that we too often ſee a Barbarian making Conqueſts, and that thoſe great Bodies of Conqueſts do ordinarily fall of themſelves, and by their own weight.* He *is a great King, that knows to acquit himſelf worthily of that Great and Auguſt Employment and Charge of Kings, which is to diſpence Juſtice to their Subjects*, &c.

The reſt is not come to my hands.

The *ſecond* is in regard of the *Emir-Jemla*. It were to injure this great Man, to paſs by with ſilence his deportment to *Aureng-Zebe* after the War, and the manner of ending his dayes. This eminent perſon after he had diſpatched the Affair of *Bengala*, with *Sultan-Sujah* (the ſecond of theſe four Brothers) not like *Gionkan*, that infamous *Patan* with *Dara*; nor like the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* with *Soliman-Chekouh*; but like a Great Captain and dextrous Polititian, purſuing him as far as the Sea-ſide, and neceſſitating him to fly and to eſcape out of his hands;

hands; after, I ſay, he had done theſe things, he ſent an Eunuch to *Aureng-Zebe*, intreating him, that he would give him leave to tranſport his Family to *Bengale*; that now that the War was at an end and he broken with Age, he hoped he would grant him the advantage of ending his life in the company of his Wife and Children.

But *Aureng-Zebe* is too ſharp-ſighted, not to pierce into the deſigns of *Emir*. He ſeeth him triumphing over *Sujah*; he knows his great credit and reputation, and that he hath the eſteem of a very wiſe, undertaking, valiant and rich man; and that the Kingdom of *Bengale* is not only the beſt of all *Indoſtan*, but ſtrong of it ſelf, and further, that this *Emir* is in the head of a well diſciplin'd Army, which both honours and fears him. Beſides, he is not ignorant of his ambition, and foreſeeth well enough, that if he ſhould have with him his Son *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, he would aſpire to the Crown, and at leaſt take full poſſeſſion of *Bengale*, if he ſhould not be able to ad-

vance things further. At the same time he is also well aware, that there is danger in refusing him, and that he may possibly prove such a man, as in case of denial, may run into some dangerous extream, as he had done in *Golkonda*. How then, think ye, did he carry himself in this conjuncture? He sends to him his Wife and Daughter, and all the Children of his Son: He maketh the *Emir* a *Mir-Ul Omrah*, which is in that Empire the greatest degree of honour that a Favourite can be raised to: And as to *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, he maketh him the *Great Bakchis*, which is a dignity and charge like that of our Great Master of the Horse, the second or third Office in the State, but such an one as absolutely obligeth the possessor of it to be alwayes at the Court, not suffering him, but very difficultly, to be absent from the person of the King.

The *Emir* soon perceived, that *Aureng-Zebe* had skilfully put by the stroke, that it would be in vain the second time to ask of him his Son; that he

he could not do it without offending him; and that therefore the safest way would be to rest contented with all the testimonies of Friendship, and with all the Honours, together with the Government of *Bengale*; being in the mean time alwayes upon his guard, and in such a posture, that since he could attempt nothing against *Aureng-Zebe*, *Aureng-Zebe* should not be able to attempt any thing against him.

Thus have we seen these two Great Men carry themselves to one another: And in this condition did affairs remain for almost a year; till *Aureng-Zebe*, too well knowing that a great Captain cannot be long at rest, and that, if he be not employed in a Forreign War, he will at length raise a Domestick one; proposed to him to make War upon that rich and potent Raja of *Acham*, whose Territories are on the North of *Dake*, upon the Gulf of *Bengale*. The *Emir*, who in all appearance had already designed this same thing of himself, and who believed, that the Conquest of this Country,

would make way for his Immortal Honour, and be an occasion of carrying his Arms as far as *China*, declared himself ready for this Enterprize. He embarked at *Dake* with a puissant Army, upon a River which comes from those parts; upon which having gone about an hundred Leagues North-Eastward, he arrived at a Castle called *Azo*, which the Raja of *Acham* had usurped from the Kingdom of *Bengale*, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in less than fifteen dayes; thence marching over Land towards *Chamdara*, which is the Inlet into the Countrey of that Raja; he entred into it after 26 dayes journey, still Northward: There a Battel was fought, in which the Raja of *Acham* was worsted, and obliged to retreat to *Guerguon*, the *Metropolis* of his Kingdom, four miles distant from *Chamdara*. The *Emir* pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to fortifie himself in *Guerguon*: For he arrived in sight of that Town in five dayes, which constrained the *Raja*, seeing the *Emir*'s Army,

Army, to fly towards the Mountains of the Kingdom of *Laſſa*, and to abandon *Guerguon*, which was pillaged, as had been *Chamdara*. They found there vaſt riches, it being a great, very fair and Merchant-like Town, and where the Women are extraordinarily beautiful. Mean time, the ſeaſon of the Rains came in ſooner than uſually; and they being exceſſive in thoſe parts, and overflowing all the Countrey, except ſuch Villages as ſtand on raiſed ground, the *Emir* was much embaraſſed. For the *Raja* made his people of the Mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the proviſions of the Field; whereby the *Emir*'s Army (as rich as 'twas) before the end of the rains fell into great ſtreights, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance, by reaſon of the Mountains very difficult to paſs, and continually peſter'd with great Rains; nor retreat, becauſe of the like Rains and deep wayes; the *Raja* alſo having cauſed the way to be digged up as far as to *Chamdara*: So

that the *Emir* was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the Rain; after which, when he found his Army diſtaſted, tired out, and half ſtarved, he was neceſſitated to give over the Deſign he had of advancing, and to return the ſame way he was come. But this Retreat was made with ſo much pains, and ſo great inconveniencies, by reaſon of the dirt, the want of victuals, and the purſuit of the *Raja* falling on the Rear, that every body (but he) that had not known how to remedy the diſorder of ſuch a March, nor had the patience to be ſometimes five or ſix hours at one paſſage to make the Souldiery get over it without confuſion, would have utterly periſh'd, himſelf, Army, and all; yet he, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties and obſtacles, made a ſhift to come back with great honour and vaſt riches. He deſign'd to return thither again the next year, and to purſue his undertaking, ſuppoſing that *Azo*, which he had fortified, and where he left a ſtrong Gar-

Garriſon, would be able to hold out the reſt of the year againſt the *Raja*. But he was no ſooner arrived there, but Fluxes began to rage in his Army: Neither had himſelf a body of Steel more than the reſt; he fell ſick and died, whereby Fortune ended the juſt apprehenſions of *Aureng-Zebe*. I ſay, the *Juſt* apprehenſions; for there was none of thoſe that knew this great man, and the ſtate of the affairs of *Indoſtan*, who did not ſay, 'Tis this day that *Aureng-Zebe* is King of *Bengale*. And himſelf could not forbear to expreſs ſome ſuch thing; for he publickly ſaid to *Mahmet-Emir-kan*; You have loſt your Father, and I the greateſt and the moſt dangerous Friend I had; yet notwithſtanding he comforted this Son, and withal aſſured him, that he would ever be a Father to him. And whereas 'twas thought, that he would at leaſt cut off his Salary, and make Inquiſition into his Treaſury, he confirmed him in his Office of *Bakehis*, augmented his Penſion to a thouſand Rupies a moneth,

and left him Heir of all the Estate of his Father, although the Custom of the Country empowred him to seize on all.

The *third* is concerning *Chah-hest-kan*, whom *Aureng-Zebe* made first Governour of *Agra*, when he went out to the Battel of *Kadjoue* against *Sultan Sujah*; and afterward, Governour and General of the Army in *Decan*; and at last, after the death of *Emir-jemla*, Governour and General of the Army in *Bengale*, together with the charge of *Mirul-Omrah* which *Emir-jemla* had possessed. This *Chah-hest-kan* is he, whom in our History we have mention'd as Uncle to *Aureng-Zebe*, and one that hath so much contributed to his happiness by his eloquent and skilful pen, as well as by his intrigues and counsels. It would be injurious to his Renown also, to be silent of the important enterprise, which he undertook presently when he entred upon his Government, and that the rather, because *Emir-jemla*, whether out of policy, or for another cause,

cauſe, had no mind to tempt him; as alſo, becauſe the particularities, which I am going to relate, will ſhew not only the paſſed and preſent ſtate of the Kingdoms of *Bengale* and *Rakan*, which hitherto hath not been well deſcribed to us by any, but alſo ſome other things that are worth knowing.

To the end therefore that the importance of *Chah-heſt-kan*'s attempt may be well underſtood, and a good Idea be had of what paſſeth about the Gulf of *Bengale*, we are to know, that there many years there have always been in the Kingdom of *Rakan* or *Moy*, ſome *Portugueſes*, and with them a great number of their *Chriſtian* Slaves, and other *Franguis*, gather'd from all parts. *That* was the refuge of the Run-aways from *Goa*, *Ceilan*, *Cochin*, *Malague*, and all thoſe other places, which the *Portugueſes* formerly held in the *Indies*; and they were ſuch as had abandoned their Monaſteries, men that had been twice or thrice Married, Murtherers: In a word, ſuch

ſuch as had deſerved the Rope, were moſt welcome and moſt eſteem'd there, leading in that Country a life that was very deteſtable, and altogether unworthy of Chriſtians, inſomuch that they impunely butchered and poyſoned one another, and aſſaſſinated their own Prieſts, who ſometimes were not better than themſelves. The King of *Rakan* in the apprehenſion he hath ever had of the *Mogol*, kept them for a guard of his Frontiers, in a Port-Town called *Chategon*, giving them Land, and liberty to live as they pleaſed. Their ordinary Trade was Robbery and Piracy. With ſome ſmall and light Gallies they did nothing but coaſt about that Sea, and entring into all Rivers thereabout, and into the Channels and Arms of *Ganges*, and between all thoſe Iſles of the lower *Bengale*, and often penetrating even ſo far as forty or fifty leagues up into the Countrey, ſurprized and carried away whole Towns, Aſſemblies, Markets, Feaſts and Weddings of the poor Gentiles, and others of that Countrey, making

making Women Slaves, great and ſmall, with ſtrange cruelty; and burning all they could not carry away. And thence it is, that at preſent there are ſeen in the mouth of *Ganges* ſo many fine Iſles quite deſerted, which were formerly well peopled, and where no other Inhabitants are found but wild Beaſts, and eſpecially Tygers.

This great number of Slaves, which thus they took from all quarters, behold what uſe they made of. They had boldneſs and impudence enough, to come and ſell to that very Country the old people, which they knew not what to do with; where it ſo fell out, that thoſe who had eſcaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themſelves in the Woods, labour'd to redeem to day their Fathers and Mothers, that had been taken yeſterday. The reſt they kept for their ſervice to make Rowers of them; and ſuch Chriſtians as they were themſelves, bringing them up to robbing and killing; or elſe they ſold them to the *Portugueſes* of *Goa*, *Ceilan*, St. *Thomas*, and others; and even

to

to thoſe that were remaining in *Bengale* at *Ogouli*, who were come thither to ſettle themſelves there by the favour of *Jehan-Guyre*, the Grandfather of *Aureng-Zebe*, who ſuffered them there upon the account of Traffick, and of his having no averſion to Chriſtians, as alſo becauſe they promiſed him to keep the Bay of *Bengale* clear from all Pyrats. And it was towards the Iſle of *Galles*, near the Cape of *Palmes*, where this fine Trade was. Theſe Pyrates lay there in wait at the paſſage for the *Portugueſes*, who filled their Ships with them at a very eaſie rate; this infamous Rabble impudently bragging, that they made more Chriſtians in one year, then all the Miſſionaries of the *Indies* in ten; which would be a ſtrange way of enlarging Chriſtianity.

Theſe were the Pyrates that made *Chah-Jehan*, who was a more zealous Mahumetan than his Father *Jehan-Guyre*, to expreſs at laſt his paſſion, not only againſt the Reverend Fathers the *Jeſuites*, Miſſionaries of *Agra*, in that

that he cauſed to be pulled down the beſt part of a very fair and large Church that had been built, as well as that of *Lahor*, by the favour of *Jehan-Guyre*, who, as I ſaid, did not hate Chriſtianity; and upon which there ſtood a great Steeple with a great Bell in it, whoſe ſound might be heard over all the Town; not only, I ſay, againſt thoſe *Jeſuites*, but alſo againſt the Chriſtians of *Ogouli*: For being impatient to ſee them connive at the Pyrates, to make the name of the *Franguis* formidable, and to fill their houſes with Slaves that were his own Subjects, he waſted and utterly ruined them, after he had both with fair words and menaces drawn from them as much money as he could: And becauſe they were indiſcreetly obſtinate, in refuſing what he demanded of them, he beſieged them, and cauſed them all to be brought to *Agra*, even their very Children, their Prieſts and Friers. This was a miſery and a deſolation not to be parallell'd, a kind of *Babilonian* tranſmigration. There they were all made

made Slaves: The handiom Women were ſhut up in the Seraglio; the old Women and others, were diſtributed among divers *Omrahs*. The young Lads were circumciſed, and made Pages; and men of age renounced for the moſt part their Faith, either terrified by the threatnings they heard daily, that they ſhould be trampled upon by Elephants, or drawn away by fair Promiſes. 'Tis true, that there were ſome of thoſe Friers, who perſiſted, and that the Miſſionaries of *Agra*, who notwithſtanding all this unhappineſs, remained in their houſes, found means afterwards, partly by Friends, partly by Money, to get many of them away, and to have them conveyed to *Goa*, and to other places belonging to the *Portugueſes*.

They were alſo the ſame Pyrates, who ſome time before the deſolation of *Ogouli*, offered to the Vice-Roy of *Goa* to put the whole Kingdom of *Rakan* into their hands for the King of *Portugal*; but he refuſed, they ſay, this offer, out of arrogance and jealouſie,

and

and would not ſend the ſuccours, which for that end was demanded of him by a certain *Baſtian Conſalve*, who had made himſelf head of thoſe people, and was become ſo potent and conſiderable, that he married one of the Kings Daughters; being unwilling that it ſhould be ſaid, that a man of ſo mean Extraction as this *Baſtian* was, had done ſuch a Maſter-piece. But it may be ſaid on this occaſion, that this is not much to be wondred at, conſidering that the *Portugueſes* in the *Indies* by ſuch a conduct have divers times been faulty on the like occaſions, in *Japan*, in *Pegu*, in *Ethiopia*, and other places; not to mention, that by this way, and that perhaps by a juſt Divine chaſtiſement (as they all frankly confeſs themſelves) they are become a prey to their Enemies, and fallen ſo low in the *Indies*, that I know not whether they will ever recover there; whereas formerly, before they were corrupted by vice, and degenerated through pleaſure, they made all others tremble in thoſe parts; foraſmuch

much as then they were brave and generous men, zealous for the Christian Religion, considerable for gallant exploits and for riches; all the *Indian* Kings seeking their friendship.

Besides this, the same Pyrates seized at that time on the Isle of *Sondiva*, an advantageous Post to command a part of the Mouth of *Ganges*: In which Isle a certain *Augustin* Frier, a very famous man, acted the King for many years, having taken a course, God knows how, to rid himself of the Commander of that place.

Moreover, the same Robbers took *Sultan-Sujah* at *Daka*, to carry him away in their Galeasses to *Rakan*, as we related above, and found means to open his Coffers, and to rob him of good store of Jewels, which afterwards were secretly, and at a very cheap rate, sold in *Rakan*, most of them being fallen into the hands of people that had no skill in them, and afterwards into the hands of the *Hollanders*, and others, who knew how to buy them up quickly, making those fellows

fellows believe, that they were ſoft Diamonds, and that they would pay them according to the *degrees* of their hardneſs.

Laſtly, They are they that for many years have given exerciſe to the Great *Mogol* in *Bengale*; having obliged him there to keep alwayes Garriſons every where upon the Paſſes, and a great Militia, and a Fleet alſo of Galeaſſes to oppoſe their courſes, and who, notwithſtanding all this, have made ſhift to make ſtrange devaſtations, and often to enter far into the Country, and to laugh at all the Souldiery of the *Mogols*; in regard they were become ſo bold, and ſo dextrous at their Weapons, and ſo skilful in piloting their Galeaſſes, that four or five of them ſtuck not to ſet upon fourteen or fifteen *Mogolians*, which they alſo actually worſted, and took, or run aground. And upon theſe Pyrates *Chah-heſt-kan* caſt his eyes as ſoon as he came into *Bengale*, taking a reſolution to deliver the Countrey of this plague of people, that had ſo long waſted it; and deſign-

ing afterwards to paſs on, and to attack the King of *Rakan*, according to the order of *Aureng-Zebe*, who at any price had a mind to revenge the blood of *Sultan-Sujah*, and all his Family, that had been ſo cruelly handled, and to teach that Barbarian, how the Blood Royal was to be regarded and eſteemed on any occaſion whatſoever, Behold now with what dexterity *Chahheſt-kan* carrieth on his deſign!

Knowing that 'tis impoſſible to paſs any Cavalry by Land, no not ſo much as any Infantry, from *Bengale* into *Rakan*, becauſe of the many channels and rivers upon the Frontiers; and alſo that on the other ſide, thoſe Pyrates of *Chatigon*, whom we juſt now were ſpeaking of, would be powerful enough to hinder him from tranſporting them by Sea; he thought upon this experiment, *viz.* to engage the *Hollanders* in his deſign. He therefore ſent a kind of Ambaſſador to *Batavia*, empowering him to treat upon certain Conditions, with the General of that Company, joyntly to ſubdue

due the whole Kingdom of *Rakan*; as formerly *Chah-Abbas* ſubdued that of *Ormus*, in conjunction with the *Engliſh*. The General of *Batavia* ſeeing the thing to be poſſible, and that it was a means more and more to break the *Portugueſes* in the *Indies*, and that it would turn to a very good account to the Company, diſpatcht away two Men of War for *Bengale*, to favour the tranſportation of the *Mogolian* Troops in ſpight of thoſe Pyrates. But obſerve what *Chah-heſt-kan* did before theſe Men of War arrived: He equipped a great number of Galeaſſes, and many large Veſſels to tranſport the Army; threatned the Pyrates, utterly to ſpoil and ruine them; acquainted them with the deſign of *Aureng-Zebe* upon *Rakan*; that a potent Army of the *Dutch* was near; that they ſhould think on themſelves and their families, if they were wiſe; and in a word, if they would abandon the ſervice of the King of *Rakan* and take that of *Aureng-Zebe*, he would procure very good conditions for them, diſtribute amongſt

them as much Land in *Bengale* as they desired, and pay them the double of what they had now.

'Tis doubtful, whether these Menaces and Promises made impression upon them, or whether it was not an accident that moved them; they having about that time assassinated one of the chief Officers of the King of *Rakan*, and apprehending a punishment for that crime: However it be, they were caught, and they were one day struck with such a panick terror, that they shipp'd themselves all at once in forty or fifty of their Galeasses, and wafted over to *Bengale* to *Chah-hest-kan*, and that with so much precipitation, that they hardly took time to embark their Wives and Children, and what else was most precious to them. *Chah-hest-kan* received them with open arms, courted them exceedingly, gave them very considerable pay, and without letting them cool, made them, joyntly with his whole Army, to attack and take the Isle of *Sondiva*, which was fallen into the hands of the King of

Ra-

Rakan; and thence to paſs with all his Horſe and Foot to *Chatigon*. About this time the two *Holland*-Veſſels arrived; but *Chah-heſt-kan*, who thought that henceforth it would be eaſie for him to compaſs his deſign, thanked them. I ſaw theſe Ships in *Bengale*, and their Commanders, who were but little contented with ſuch thanks and liberalities of *Chah-heſt-kan*. As to the Pyrates, ſince now he holds them faſt, and hopeleſs of ever returning to *Chatigon*, and hath no more need of them, he makes nothing of all thoſe large promiſes he made them, and treats them not as he ſhould, but as they deſerve, leaving them whole moneths without pay, and not looking upon them otherwiſe than Traitors and infamous men, unfit to be truſted, after they have ſo vilely deſerted him, whoſe Salt they had eaten ſo many years. After this manner did *Chah-heſt-kan* put an end to this Rabble, which, as I ſaid, have ruined and diſpoiled all the lower *Bengale*. Time will ſhew whether he will be as happy in the remainder

of his Enterprize againſt the King of *Rakan.*

The *fourth* particular is concerning the two Sons of *Aureng-Zebe*, viz. *Sultan Mahmoud*, and *Sultan Mazum.* He ſtill keeps the firſt of them in *Goualeor*, but (if one may believe the common report) without making him take the *Pouſt*, which is the ordinary Drink of thoſe that are put into that place. As to the *other*, though he hath alwayes been a pattern of reſervedneſs and moderation, yet one knows not whether he was not too forward in making a party, when his Father was ſo extreamly ſick; or whether *Aureng-Zebe* have not upon other occaſions perceived ſomething that might give him cauſe of jealouſie; or whether he had not a mind to make an authentick proof of both his Obedience and Courage. However it be, one day he commanded him in an unconcerned manner, in a full Aſſembly of the *Omrahs*, to go and kill a *Lyon*, that was come down the Mountains, and had made great havock

and

and waſte in the Countrey; and this he did without giving order to furniſh him with thoſe ſtrong and large Nets, which they are wont to employ in this dangerous kind of hunting in a real mood; telling the great Hunting-Maſter, who preſently called for thoſe Nets, that when he was Prince, he did not look for ſuch Formalities. It was the good fortune of *Sultan Mazum*, that he proſper'd in this attempt, not loſing any more than two or three men, and ſome horſes that were wounded, although, on the other hand, the matter went not off ſo pleaſantly, the wounded *Lyon* having leapt up to the head of the Sultan's Elephant. Since that time, *Aureng-Zebe* hath not been backward to expreſs much affection to him; he hath given him even the Government of *Decan*, though with ſo little power and treaſure, that there is no great cauſe to apprehend any thing upon that account.

The *fifth* thing toucheth *Mohabetkan*, the Governour of *Kaboul*, whom

Aureng-Zebe took from his Government, and generously pardoned; not willing, as he said, to lose so brave a Captain, and that had stuck so close to his Benefactor *Chah-Jehan*. He made him even Governour of *Guzuratte*, in the place of *Jessemseignue*, whom he sent to make War in *Decan*. It may very well be, that some considerable Presents he made to *Rauchenara-Begum*, and a good number of excellent *Persian* Horse and Camels, wherewith he presented *Aureng-Zebe*, together with fifteen or sixteen thousand Rupies of Gold, did contribute to make his peace.

On this occasion of mentioning the Government of *Kaboul*, which borders upon the Kingdom of *Kandahar*, which is now in the hands of the *Persians*, I shall here briefly add some particulars, that serve to this History, and will still more discover that Country, and declare the Interests between *Indostan* and *Persia*, which no body, that I know of, hath explained hitherto.

Kan-

Kandahar, that ſtrong and important place, which is the Capital and the ſwaying City of this Noble and Rich Kingdom of the ſame Name, hath in theſe latter Ages been the ſubject of grievous Wars between the *Mogols* and *Perſians*, each of them pretending a right thereto. *Ekbar*, that great King of the *Indies*, took it by force from the *Perſians*, and kept it during his life. And *Chah-Abbas*, that famous King of *Perſia*, retook it from *Jean-Guyre*, the Son of *Ekbar*. Afterwards it return'd to *Chah-Jehan*, Son of *John Guyre*, not by the Sword, but by the means of the Governour *Aly-Merdan-kan*, who ſurrendred it to him, and went over to live at his Court, apprehending the Artifices of his Enemies, who had brought him into diſfavour with the King of *Perſia*, that ſent for him to make him give an accompt, and to deliver up his Government. The ſame City was beſieged and retaken afterwards by the Son of *Chah-Abbas*, and ſince that beſieged twice again, yet without being

ing taken, by *Chah-Jehan*. The first time it was saved from being taken by the ill understanding and jealousie between the *Persian* Omrahs, that are Pensioners of the *Great Mogol*, and the most powerful of his Court, as also by the respect they bear to their Natural King: For they all behaved themselves very effeminately in the Siege, and would not follow the *Raja Roup*, who had already planted his Standards upon the Wall on the side of the Mountain. The second time it was saved by the jealousie of *Aureng-Zebe*, who would not fall into the breach of the Wall, that our *Franguis*, the *English*, *Portugueses*, *Germans*, and *French* had made by their Canon, though it was a large one; being unwilling to have it said, that in the time of *Dara*, who was in a manner the first mover of that Enterprise, and was then in the City of *Caboul*, with his Father *Chah-Jehan*, the Fortress of *Kandahar* was taken. *Chah-Jehan*, some years before the late trouble, was also ready to besiege it the third time, had not

Emir-

Emir-Jemla diverted him from it, adviſing him to turn his Forces towards *Decan*, (as hath been ſaid;) with whom *Aly-Merdan-kan* himſelf concurred, who was ſo earneſt in his diſſwading him from it, as to ſay to him theſe words, which I ſhall punctually relate, as having ſomething extravagant in them:

Your Majeſty will never take Kandahar, *unleſs you had ſuch a Traytor there as my ſelf; except you were reſolved never to bring a* Perſian *into it, and to make the Bazars or Markets wholly free, that is, to lay no Impoſt on thoſe that furniſh the Army with proviſion.*

At length, *Aureng-Zebe*, like the others, had prepared himſelf in theſe latter years to beſiege it alſo; whether it was that he was offended at the tart Letters, written to him by the King of *Perſia*, or by reaſon of the affronts and ill treatment which he had offered to *Tarbiet-kan* his Ambaſſador; that hearing of the King of *Perſia*'s death, he turned back, ſaying, (which yet is not very credible) that he

he would not meddle with a Child, a new King; although *Chah-Soliman*, who hath ſucceeded his Father, is, in my opinion, about 25 years of age.

The *ſixth* particular we purpoſed to ſpeak of, concerns thoſe that have faithfully ſerved *Aureng-Zebe*. Thoſe he hath almoſt all raiſed to great places. For firſt, as we have already related, he made *Chah-heſt-kan*, his Uncle, Governour and General of the Army of *Decan*, and afterwards, Governour of *Bengale*. Next, he made *Mir-kan* Governour of *Kaboul*; Then *Kalilullah-kan*, of *Lahor*; and *Mirhaba*, of *Elubas*; and *Lasker-kan*, of *Patna*. The Son of that *Allah-Verdi-kan* of *Sultan Sujah*, he appointed Governour of *Scindy*; and *Fazel-kan*, who had conſiderably ſerved him both by his counſels and dexterity, he made *Kane-ſaman*, that is, Great Steward of the Houſe Royal: And *Danechmend-kan*, Governour of *Dehli*, with this particular grace and priviledge, that ſince he is perpetually employed in ſtudies and forreign affairs, he

he ſo diſpenſeth with him for not coming twice a day (after the ancient cuſtom) to wait on the King in the Aſſembly, as not to retrench any thing of his penſion for his abſence, as he doth to the other Omrahs, if they fail. He hath given to *Dianet-kan* the Government of *Kachmire* (alias *Caſſimere*) that little, and in a manner inacceſſible Kingdom, which *Ekbar* ſeized on by craft, that Earthly Paradiſe of the *Indies*; which hath its Hiſtories written in its peculiar Language; whereof I have an abridgement in the *Perſian* Tongue, made by the command of *Jehan Guyre*, containing a large Catalogue of many very ancient Kings, that often were ſo powerful, that they ſubdued the *Indies* as far as *China*.

'Tis true, that *Aureng-Zebe* diſmiſſed *Nejabat-kan*, who did very well in the two Battels of *Samonguer* and *Kadjoue*, but then 'tis not fit at all, that a Subject ſhould ever reproach his King, as he did, with the ſervices done him.

As

As to those infamous men, *Gionkan* and *Nazer*, 'tis known, that the former hath been recompenced as he deserved; but the other no man knows what is become of him.

What concerns *Jessomseigne* and *Jesseigne*, there is something as to them that is intricate, which I shall endeavour to unfold. There is a certain Heathen revolted from the King of *Visapour*, who knew how to possess himself of many important Fortresses, and of some Sea-ports of that King. His name is *Seva-Gi*, that is, Lord *Seva*. He is a stout man, vigilant, bold, and undertaking in the higheſt degree, who gave *Chah-heſt-kan* more work and trouble in *Decan*, than the King of *Visapour* with all his forces, and all his *Raja*'s joyned with him for their common defence: Insomuch that having designed to take away *Chah-heſt-kan* and his Treasures out of the midst of his Army and of the Town *Aurenge-Abad*, he carried on his design so far, that he had effected it, if he had not been discovered a little

too

too ſoon; for one night, accompanied with a number of reſolute Fellows he hath about him, he was got into the very apartment of *Chah-heſt-kan*, where his Son, who was forward in the defence, was killed, and himſelf grievouſly wounded; *Seva-Gi* in the mean time getting away as well as he came: Who for all this was ſo far from being daunted, that he undertook another very bold and very dangerous enterpriſe, which ſucceeded much better. He took two or three Thouſand choſen men of his Army, with whom he took the Field without noiſe, ſpreading a report by the way, that it was a *Raja* going to the Court. When he was near *Suratte*, that Famous and Rich Port of the *Indies*, inſtead of Marching further (as he made the Great Provoſt of that Country, whom he met, believe) he fell into that Town, where he ſtaid about three Dayes, cutting off the Arms and Legs of the Inhabitants, to make them confeſs where were the treaſures;

ſearcing,

ſearching, digging, and loading away, or burning what he could not carry with him. Which done, he returned, none oppoſing his return, loaden with millions of Gold, Silver, Pearls, Silken Stuffs, Fine Linnen, and other rich Merchandiſe. *Jeſſomſeigne* was ſuſpected to have had ſince intelligence with this *Seva-Gi*, which was the cauſe that *Aureng Zebe* called him away from *Decan*; but he, inſtead of going to *Dehli*, went to his own Territory.

I forgot to mention, that in the plunder of *Suratte*, that Ring-leader *Seva-Gi*, like a Saint, had ſo much reſpect to the Houſe of the Reverend Father *Ambroſe*, a Miſſionary *Capucian*, that he gave order it ſhould not be plundered; becauſe, ſaid he, I know that the Fathers *Franguis* are good men. He had alſo regard to the Houſe of the Deceaſed *De Lale*, becauſe he underſtood that he had been Great Almoner. He alſo conſider'd the Houſes of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, not from Devotino, as he did the former, but becauſe they

they were in a good posture of defence; especially the *English*, who having had time to send for assistance from some of their ships that lay near the Town, behaved themselves gallantly, and saved, besides their own, several other houses near them. But a certain *Jew* of *Constantinople*, who had brought Rubies of a very great value, to sell them to *Aureng-Zebe*, carried away the Bell from all, by saving himself from the hands of *Seva-Gi*; for, rather than to confess that he had any Jewels, he was brought thrice upon his knees, and the knife held up to cut his throat: But it became none save a *Jew*, hardned in avarice, to escape in such a manner.

Touching *Jesseigne*, King *Aureng-Zebe* made him content to go General of the Army in *Decan*, sending *Sultan-Mazum* with him, without any power. He presently and vigorously besieged the principal Fortress of *Seva-Gi*, and knowing more than all the rest in matter of Negotiation and Treaty, he so ordered the business, that *Seva-Gi* sur-

rendred before it came to extremity; and then he drew him to *Aureng-Zebe*'s party againſt *Viſapour*, King *Aureng-Zebe* declaring him a *Raja*, taking him under his protection, and giving the penſion of a very conſiderable *Omrah* to his Son. Some time after, *Aureng-Zebe* deſigning to make War againſt *Perſia*, wrote to *Seva-Gi* ſuch obliging Letters touching his Generoſity, Ability and Conduct, that he made him reſolve, upon the faith of *Jeſſeigne*, to come to him to *Dehli*. There a kinſwoman of *Aureng-Zebe*, the Wife of *Chah-heſt-kan* (who was then at Court) by the influence ſhe had upon the ſpirit of *Aureng-Zebe*, perſwaded him to arreſt him that had murdered her Son, wounded her Husband, and ſacked *Suratte*: So that one evening *Seva-Gi* ſaw his Pavilions beſet with three or four *Omrahs*; but he made ſhift to get away in the night. This eſcape made a great noiſe at Court, every one accuſing the Eldeſt Son of the Raja *Jeſſeigne* to have aſſiſted him in it. *Jeſſeigne*, who preſently had news that

An-

Aureng-Zebe was very angry with him and his Son, and was adviſed no more to go to the Court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending leſt *Aureng-Zebe* ſhould take this for a pretence to fall upon his Lands, and poſſeſs himſelf of them. Whereupon he alſo ſoon left *Decan* to ſecure his Eſtate; but when he was at *Brampour*, he died. Yet notwithſtanding *Aureng-Zebe* was ſo far from expreſſing any coldneſs or reſentment to the Son of *Jeſſeigne*, that he ſent to condole with him for the Death of his Father, and continued to him his Penſion; which confirms what many ſay, that it was by the conſent of *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf, that *Seva-Gi* eſcaped, foraſmuch as he could retain him no longer at Court, becauſe all the Women there had too great a ſpleen againſt him, and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his Kinſmen.

But to return to *Decan*, we are to conſider, that that is a Kingdom, which theſe forty years hath conſtantly been the Theater of War, and upon the

rendred before it came to extremity; and then he drew him to *Aureng-Zebe*'s party againſt *Viſapour*, King *Aureng-Zebe* declaring him a *Raja*, taking him under his protection, and giving the penſion of a very conſiderable *Omrah* to his Son. Some time after, *Aureng-Zebe* deſigning to make War againſt *Perſia*, wrote to *Seva-Gi* ſuch obliging Letters touching his Generoſity, Ability and Conduct, that he made him reſolve, upon the faith of *Jeſſeigne*, to come to him to *Dehli*. There a kinſwoman of *Aureng-Zebe*, the Wife of *Chah-heſt-kan* (who was then at Court) by the influence ſhe had upon the ſpirit of *Aureng-Zebe*, perſwaded him to arreſt him that had murdered her Son, wounded her Husband, and ſacked *Suratte*: So that one evening *Seva-Gi* ſaw his Pavilions beſet with three or four *Omrahs*; but he made ſhift to get away in the night. This eſcape made a great noiſe at Court, every one accuſing the Eldeſt Son of the Raja *Jeſſeigne* to have aſſiſted him in it. *Jeſſeigne*, who preſently had news that

Au-

Aureng-Zebe was very angry with him and his Son, and was adviſed no more to go to the Court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending leſt *Aureng-Zebe* ſhould take this for a pretence to fall upon his Lands, and poſſeſs himſelf of them. Whereupon he alſo ſoon left *Decan* to ſecure his Eſtate; but when he was at *Brampour*, he died. Yet notwithſtanding *Aureng-Zebe* was ſo far from expreſſing any coldneſs or reſentment to the Son of *Jeſſeigne*, that he ſent to condole with him for the Death of his Father, and continued to him his Penſion; which confirms what many ſay, that it was by the conſent of *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf, that *Seva-Gi* eſcaped, foraſmuch as he could retain him no longer at Court, becauſe all the Women there had too great a ſpleen againſt him, and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his Kinſmen.

But to return to *Decan*, we are to conſider, that that is a Kingdom, which theſe forty years hath conſtantly been the Theater of War, and upon the

ſcore whereof the *Mogol* hath much to do with the Kings of *Golkonda*, and of *Viſapour*, and divers little Soveraigns; which is not to be underſtood, unleſs it be known, what conſiderable things have paſſed in thoſe parts, and the condition of the Princes that govern them.

All this great Peninſule of *Indoſtan*, cutting it from the Bay of *Cambaja* unto that of *Bengale*, near *Jagannate*, and paſſing thence to Cape *Comori*, was ſcarce two hundred years ſince entirely (ſome mountanous parts excepted) under the Dominion of one only Prince, who conſequently was a very great and very potent Monarch: But now it is divided among many different Soveraigns, that are alſo of different Religions. The cauſe of this diviſion was, that the King *Ramras*, the laſt of thoſe that have poſſeſſed this mighty State entirely, did imprudently raiſe three Slaves, *Gurgis*, he had about him too high, ſo as to make them all three Governors of places: The *firſt*, of the greateſt part of thoſe Countries, which at pre-

preſent are poſſeſſed by the *Mogol* in *Decan*, about *Daulet-Abad*, from *Bider*, *Paranda*, *Suratte*, unto *Narbadar*: The *ſecond*, of all the other Lands, now comprehended under the Kingdom of *Viſapour*: And the *third*, of all that is contained under the Kingdom of *Golkonda*. Theſe three Slaves grew very rich, and found themſelves ſupported by a good number of the *Mogols*, that were in the ſervice of *Ramras*, becauſe they were all three Mahumetans, of the Sect *Chyas*, like the *Perſians*. And at length they all revolted together with one accord, killed King *Ramras*, and returned to their Government, each taking upon him the Title of *Chah* or King. The Iſſue of *Ramras*, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough for them, were content to keep themſelves in a Corner, *viz.* in that Countrey which is commonly called *Karnatek*, in our Maps, *Biſnaguer*, where they are ſtill *Raja's* to this very day. All the reſt of the State was alſo at the ſame time divided into all thoſe *Rajas Naiques* and petty Kings, ſuch as we ſee there.

These three Slaves and their posterity have alwayes defended themselves very well in their Kingdoms, whilst they kept a good mutual correspondence, and assisted one another in their grievous wars against the *Mogols*. But when they once came to think every one to defend their Lands apart, they soon found the effects of their division. For the *Mogol* so well knew to take his time upon that occasion (which is now about thirty five or forty years since) that he possessed himself within a little time of all the Countrey of *Nejam-Chah*, or King *Nejam*, the fifth or sixth of the family of the first Slave, and at last took him prisoner in *Daulet-Abad*, the Capital, where he died.

After that time, the Kings of *Golkonda* have maintained themselves well enough; not as if they could compare with the power of the *Mogol*, but because the *Mogol* hath alwayes been employed against the two others; from whom he was to take *Amber*, *Paranda*, *Bider*, and some other places, before he could conveniently march towards

Gol-

Golkonda. And becauſe they have always been ſo politick, being very opulent, as to furniſh under hand the King of *Viſapour* with Money, and thereby to help him to maintain a War againſt the *Mogol*: Beſides that, they ever have a conſiderable Army on foot, which is alwayes ready, and never fails to take the Field, and to approach to the Frontiers, at the time when there is news that that of the *Mogol* marches againſt *Viſapour*; to let the *Mogol* ſee, not only that they are alwayes ready to defend themſelves, but alſo that they could eaſily aſſiſt the King of *Viſapour*, in caſe he ſhould be reduced to any extremity. Next, which is very conſiderable, they know alſo how to convey Money under hand to the Chieftains of the *Mogolian* Army; who thereupon adviſe the Court, that it is more to purpoſe to attack *Viſapour*, as being nearer to *Daulet-Abad*. Further, they ſend every year very conſiderable Preſents to the Great *Mogol*, by way of Tribute; which conſiſt partly in ſome rare ma-

nufactures of the Countrey; partly in Elephants, which they ſend for from *Pegu*, *Siam*, and *Ceilan*, partly in fair ready money. Laſtly, the *Mogol* conſiders that Kingdom as his own, not only becauſe he looks upon the King thereof as his Tributary, but chiefly ſince that agrement heretofore ſpoken of, which the preſent King made with *Aureng-Zebe*, when he beſieged *Golkonda*; and there being alſo no place able to reſiſt, even from *Daulet-Abad* unto *Golkonda*, he judgeth, that when he ſhall think fit to puſh for it, he may take in the whole Kingdom in one Campagne; which in my opinion, he would certainly have done, if he did not apprehend, leſt ſending his Forces towards *Golkonda*, the King of *Viſapour* ſhould enter into *Decan*; as, no doubt, he would do, knowing it to be very important to his conſervation, that that Kingdom may alwayes ſubſiſt as now it is.

From all which, ſomething may be underſtood of the Intereſts and Government of the King of *Golkonda* with

with the *Mogol*, and what way he taketh to ſupport himſelf againſt him. Yet notwithſtanding all this, I find this ſtate much ſhaken, in regard that the King that now is, ſince that unhappy affair of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Emir-Jemla*, ſeems to have loſt heart, and as 'twere abandoned the reins of the Kingdom, not daring any more to go forth of this Fortreſs of *Golkonda*, nor ſo much as appear in publick to give Audience to his People, and to render Juſtice according to the cuſtom of the Country: Which diſcompoſeth things very much, and occaſions the Grandees to tyrannize over the meaner ſort of People, and to loſe even their reſpect to the King, often ſlighting his Commands, and conſidering him no more than a Woman; and the People, weary of the injuſtice and ill treatment, breathing after nothing but *Aureng-Zebe*. 'Tis eaſie to judge of the ſtreights this poor King is in, by four or five particulars I am about to relate.

The firſt, that *An.* 1667. when I was at

at *Golkonda*, King *Aureng-Zebe* having ſent an Ambaſſador Extraordinary to declare War to that King, unleſs he would furniſh him with 10000 Horſe againſt *Viſapour*, he did extraordinary honour, and give exceſſive preſents to that Ambaſſador, as well for him in particular, as for *Aureng-Zebe*, and made an agreement with him, to ſend him, not 10000 Horſe, but as much Money as is neceſſary to maintain ſo many; which was all that *Aureng-Zebe* looked for.

The ſecond is, that *Aureng-Zebe*'s Ambaſſador in Ordinary, that is conſtantly at *Golkonda*, commands, threatens, ſtriketh, gives Paſs-ports, and ſaith and doth whatſoever he will, no man daring with the leaſt word to croſs him.

The third is, that *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, the Son of *Emir-Jemla*, though he be no more than a ſimple Omrah of *Aureng-Zebe*, is yet ſo much reſpected through that whole Kingdom, and eſpecially in *Maſlipatan*, that the *Taptata*, his Commiſſioner,

oner, is as 'twere Maſter thereof, buying and ſelling, bringing in and ſending abroad his Merchants Ships, no body daring to contradict him in any thing, nor to demand any Cuſtoms. So great was once the power of *Emir-Jemla* his Father in this Kingdom, which time hath not yet been able to root out.

The fourth is, that the *Hollanders* ſcruple not to threaten him ſometimes, to lay an Embargo upon all the Merchants Ships of the Country that are in that Port, and not to let them go out, untill their demands be granted; as alſo to put in proteſtations againſt him: which I have ſeen actually done, upon the account of an *Engliſh* Veſſel, which they had a mind to take by force in the Port of *Maſlipatan* it ſelf, the Governour having hindred it, by arming the whole Town againſt them, and threatning to put fire to their Factory, and to put them all to death.

A fifth is, that the *Portugueſes*, as poor, and miſerable, and decayed as they

they are in the *Indies*, yet ſtick not to threaten that King alſo with War; and that they will come and ſack *Maſlipatan*, and all that Coaſt, if he will not render them that place of St. *Thomas*, which ſome years ago they choſe to put into his hands, rather than to be conſtrained to yield it up to the *Dutch*.

Yet for all this, I have been informed in *Golkonda*, by very intelligent perſons, that this King is a Prince of very great judgment, and that whatever he ſo does and ſuffers, is only in policy, to the end to provoke no body, and principally to remove all ſuſpition from *Aureng-Zebe*, and to give him to underſtand, that he hath in a manner no ſhare any more in the Kingdom: But that in the mean time a Son of his, that is kept hid, grows up, the Father watching for a fit time to declare him King, and ſo to laugh at the agreement made with *Aureng-Zebe*. Of this, time will ſhew us more; in the mean time, let us conſider ſomewhat of the Intereſts of *Viſapour*.

The

The Kingdom of *Viſapour* hath alſo not been wanting to ſupport it ſelf, though the *Mogol* do almoſt continually make war againſt it; not ſo much as if he of *Viſapour* were able to bid head to the *Mogolian* Forces, but becauſe there is never any great effort uſed againſt him. For it is not very frequent there, no more than 'tis elſewhere, for Generals of Armies to deſire the end of a War; there being nothing ſo charming, as to be in the head of an Army, commanding like little Kings, remote from the Court. It is alſo grown to a Proverb, that *Decan* is the Bread and Life of the Souldiers of *Indoſtan*. Beſides, the Countrey of *Viſapour* is on the ſide of the *Mogol*'s Dominions of a very difficult acceſs, upon the account of the ſcarcity of good Waters, Forrage, and Victuals; and becauſe *Viſapour*, the Capital City, is very ſtrong, and ſituate in a dry and ſteril Countrey, there being almoſt no good Water but in the Town. And laſtly, becauſe there are many Fortreſſes in that Countrey,

trey, ſeated on Hills hard to climb.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, that State is much ſhaken, if conſidering that the *Mogol* hath taken *Paranda*, the Key, as 'twere, of that Kingdom; as alſo that fair and ſtrong Town *Bider*, and ſome other very important places: But principally becauſe the laſt King of *Viſapour* died without Heirs Males, and he that now calls himſelf King, is a Youth, whom the Queen, Siſter of the King of *Golkonda*, hath raiſed, and taken for her Son (a favour for which he hath made an ill return, having ſhew'd no eſteem for this Queen after her return from *Mecca*, under the pretext of ſome ill demeanour in her on a *Dutch* Veſſel that carried her to *Moka:*) Laſtly, becauſe that in the diſorders of that Kingdom, the Heathen Rebel, *Seva-Gi*, above diſcourſed of, found means to ſeize on many ſtrong Holds, moſtly ſeated on ſteep Mountains, where he now acteth the King, laughing at the *Viſapour* and the *Mogol*, and ravaging the Countrey every where, from *Suratte* even to the gates

of

of *Goa*. This notwithſtanding, if he wrongs *Viſapour* one way, he helps to ſupport it another, foraſmuch as he is reſolutely bent againſt the *Mogol*, preparing alwayes ſome Ambuſh, and cutting ſo much work for his Army, that there is no diſcourſe, no apprehenſion but of *Seva-Gi*; inſomuch that he hath come and ſacked *Suratte*, and pillaged the Iſle of *Burdes*, which belongs to the *Portugueſe*, and is near the Gates of *Goa*.

The *ſeventh* particular, which I learn'd at *Golkonda*, when I was come away from *Dehli*, is the death of *Chah-Jehan*; and that *Aureng-Zebe* had been exceedingly affected therewith, having diſcover'd all the marks of grief, that a Son can expreſs for the loſs of his Father: That at the very hour of receiving that news, he went towards *Agra*; that *Begum-Saheb* cauſed the Moſquee, and a certain place, where he was at firſt to ſtop, before he entred the Fortreſs, to be hung with richly embroider'd Tapiſſeries: That at his entring into the Seraglio, ſhe preſented him

him with a great Golden Baſon, wherein were all her Jewels, and all thoſe of *Chah-Jehan*; and in ſhort, that ſhe knew to receive him with ſo much Magnificence, and to entertain him with that dexterity and craft, that ſhe obtained his pardon, gain'd his favour, and grew very confident with him.

To conclude, I doubt not, but moſt of thoſe, who ſhall have read my Hiſtory, will judge the wayes taken by *Aureng-Zebe*, for getting the Empire, very violent and horrid. I pretend not at all to plead for him, but deſire only, that before he be altogether condemned, reflexion be made on that unhappy cuſtom of this State, which leaving the ſucceſſion of the Crown undecided, for want of good Laws, ſetling it, as amongſt us, upon the eldeſt Son, expoſeth it to the Conqueſt of the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt fortunate, ſubjecting at the ſame time all the Princes born in the Royal Family, by the condition of their Birth, to the cruel neceſſity either to overcome, or to reign, by deſtroying all the reſt, for the aſſurance

rance of their power and life, or to periſh themſelves, for the ſecurity of that of others: For I am apt to believe, that upon this conſideration the Reader wil not find *Aureng-Zebe*'s conduct ſo ſtrange as at firſt it appear'd. However I am perſwaded, that thoſe who ſhall a little weigh this whole Hiſtory, will not take *Aureng-Zebe* for a Barbarian, but for a great and rare Genius, a Great States-man, and a Great King.

A Letter to the Lord COLBERT, *of the Extent of* Indostan; *the Circulation of Gold and Silver, coming at length to be swallowed up, there, as in an Abyss; the Riches, Forces, Justice, and the principal Cause of the decay of the States of* Asia.

My Lord,

SInce it is the custom of *Asia*, never to approach Great Persons with empty hands, when I had the honour to kiss the Vest of the Great *Mogol Aureng-Zebe*, I presented him with eight

eight *Roupies* * as an expreſſion of reſpect; and the illuſtrious *Fazel-kan*, the prime Miniſter of State, and he that was to eſtabliſh my Penſion as Phyſitian, with a Caſe of Knives garniſhed with Amber. *My Lord*, though I intend not to introduce new cuſtoms in *France*, yet I cannot forget this upon my return from thoſe parts; being perſwaded, that I ought not to appear before the *King*, for whom I have a far deeper veneration than for *Aureng-Zebe*, nor before *You*, *My Lord*, for whom I have a much higher eſteem than for *Fazel-kan*, without ſome little Preſent to both, which is rare, at leaſt for its novelty, though it be not ſo upon the account of the preſenting hand. The Revolution of *Indoſtan* by reaſon of its extraordinary occurrences and events, hath to me ſeemed worthy of the Greatneſs of our Monarch, and this Diſcourſe, for the quality of the matters therein contained, ſutable *to* the rank you hold in his Counſels; *to* that Conduct, which at my return

* *A* Roupy *is about half a Crown,*

appeared to me ſo admirable in the Order, which I found ſetled in ſo many things, that I thought incapable of it; and *to* the paſſion you entertain to make it known to the ends of the Earth, what a Monarch we have, and that the *French* are fit to undertake, and with honour to atchieve, whatſoever you ſhall have deſigned for their honour and advantage.

'Tis in the *Indies*, *My Lord* (whence I am lately return'd after twelve years abſence) where I learn'd the felicity of *France*, and how much this Kingdom is obliged to your cares; and where your Name is ſo diffuſed, and ſo well known. This were a fair Theme for me to enlarge upon; but my Deſign being no other than to diſcourſe of things *New*, I muſt forbear to ſpeak of thoſe that are already ſo notorious to all the world. I ſhall doubtleſs pleaſe you better, by endeavouring to give you ſome *Idea* of the ſtate of the *Indies*, which

I have engaged my ſelf to give you an account of.

My Lord, you may have ſeen before this, by the Maps of *Aſia*, how great every way is the extent of the Empire of the Great *Mogol*, which is commonly call'd *India* or *Indoſtan*. I have not meaſur'd it Mathematically; but to ſpeak of it according to the ordinary journeys of the Country, after the rate of three whole Months March, traverſing from the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Golkonda*, as far as beyond *Kazni* near *Kandahar*, which is the firſt Town of *Perſia*, I cannot perſwade my ſelf otherwiſe, but that it is at leaſt five times as far as from *Paris* to *Lyons*, that is, about five hundred common Leagues.

Next, you may pleaſe to take notice, that of that vaſt extent of Land, there are large Countries that are very fertil, and ſome of them to that degree (for example, that whole great Kingdom of *Bengale*) that they exceed thoſe of *Egypt*, not only upon the

account of the abundance of Rice, Corn, and all other things neceſſary for life, but alſo upon the ſcore of all thoſe Commodities ſo conſiderable, which *Egypt* is deſtitute of, as Silks, Cottons, Indigo, and ſo many others, ſufficiently related by Authors.

Moreover, that of theſe ſame Countries there are many that are well enough peopled and cultivated, and where Trades-men, though naturally very lazy there, are not wanting, either from neceſſity or other Cauſes, to apply themſelves to work, as to Tapiſſeries, Embroideries, Cloth of Gold and Silver, and to all thoſe kinds of Silk and Cotton Manufactures, that are uſed in the Countrey, or tranſported to other parts.

You may further obſerve, how that Gold and Silver circulating as it were upon the Earth, comes at laſt in part to be ſwallowed up in this *Indoſtan*. For of that which comes out

out of *America*, and is diſperſed through the ſeveral Kingdoms of our *Europe*, we know, that one part is carried into *Turky* many wayes, for the Commodities drawn thence; and that another part is conveyed into *Perſia*, by the way of *Smyrna*, for the Silks afforded there: That all *Turky* generally needs *Coffee*, which comes out of *Hyeman* or *Happy Arabia*, and is the common Drink of the *Turks*: That the ſame *Turky* as well as *Hyeman* and *Perſia* cannot be without the Commodities of *India*; and that thus all thoſe Countries are obliged to carry to *Moka* over the Red-Sea, near *Babelmandel*; and to *Baſſora* the utmoſt part of the *Perſian-Gulf*; and to *Bandar-Abbaſi*, or *Gomoron* near to *Ormus*, a part of that Gold and Silver, that had been brought into their Country, to be thence tranſported into *Indoſtan*, in Veſſels, that yearly, in the ſeaſon of the *Mounſons*, come purpoſely to

thoſe three famous parts: That on the other hand, all thoſe Ships of *India*, whether they be *Indian* ones, or *Dutch*, or *Engliſh*, or *Portugueſe*, that every year Tranſport Merchandiſe out of *Indoſtan* to *Pegu*, *Tanaſſeri*, *Siam*, *Ceilan*, *Achem*, *Macaſſer*, the *Maldives*, *Moſambic*, and other places, bring back alſo much Gold and Silver from all thoſe Countries, which meets with the ſame Deſtiny, that the other doth: That of that quantity of Gold and Silver which the *Hollanders* draw from *Japan* (which is ſtored with Mines) a part alſo comes to be at length diſcharged in this *Indoſtan*; And that laſtly what is carried thither directly by Sea, whether from *Portugal*, *England*, or *France*, ſeldom comes back from thence but in Merchandiſe, the reſt remaining there, as the former.

I very well know, that it may be ſaid, that this *Indoſtan* needs Copper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinamon, Elephants, and ſundry other things, which

which the *Hollanders* carry thither from *Japan*, the *Molucques*, *Ceilan*, and *Europe*; as alſo that it hath occaſion for Lead, which in part, it is furniſh'd with out of *England*; likewiſe for Scarlet, which it hath from *France*; Moreover, that it ſtands in need of a good number of Horſes, it being certain, that from the ſide of *Usbec* it receives yearly more than 2500. That out of *Perſia* alſo it is furniſhed with abundance of the ſame; as alſo out of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, the Ports of *Moka*, *Baſſora*, and *Bander-abbaſy*: Beſides that it needs that ſtore of freſh Fruit, which comes thither from *Samarkand*, *Ball-bocara*, and *Perſia*, as Melons, Apples, Pears, and Grapes, that are ſpent at *Dehli*, and bought at great Rates, almoſt all the Winter long; as well as dry Fruit, which are had there all the year long, and come from the ſame Countries, as Almonds, Piſtaches, Nuts, Prunes, Abricots, Raiſins, and the like: And that laſtly,

laſtly, it wants thoſe little ſea-cockles of the *Maldives*, which ſerve for common Coyn in *Bengale*, and in ſome other places; as alſo Ambergriece, carried thither from the ſaid *Maldives* and *Moſambic*, Rhinoceros-horns, Elephants-teeth, Musk, China-diſhes, Pearls of *Baharen*, and *Tutucoury* near *Ceilan*; and, I know not of how many other things of this kind.

But all this makes not the Gold and Silver to go out of that Empire, becauſe the Merchants at their return freight their ſhips with the Commodities of the Country, finding a better account by ſo doing, than if they ſhould bring back Money, ſo that that hinders not, but that *Indoſtan* proves, as we have ſaid, a kind of abyſs for a great part of the Gold and Silver of the World, which finds many ways to enter there, and almoſt none to iſſue thence.

In a word, you may take notice, that this *Great Mogol* makes himſelf heir of the *Omrahs* or Lords, and of the

the *Manſeb-dars*, or petty Lords, that are in his Pay; and (which is of very great conſequence) that all the Lands of that Empire are his propriety, excepting ſome Houſes and Gardens, which he giveth leave to his Subjects to ſell, divide, or buy amongſt them, as they ſhall think fit.

Theſe are the things, which ſufficiently ſhow, *both* that there muſt needs be a very great ſtore of Gold and Silver in *Indoſtan*, though there be no Mines; *and* alſo that the *Great Mogol*, the Soveraign of the ſame, at leaſt, of the beſt part of it, hath immenſe Revenues and Riches.

But on the other hand, there are alſo many things to be obſerved, which are a poiſe to theſe Riches. The *firſt*, that among thoſe vaſt tracts of Land there is much, which is nothing but ſand and ſterill Mountains, little Tilled or Peopled: That even of thoſe that would be fertile, there is much, that is not uſed for want of Workmen, ſome of which have periſh'd by the too evil treatment of the Governours, who

who often take from them their neceſſary lively-hood, and ſometimes their very Children whom they make ſlaves when they are not able, or are unwilling to pay: Others have abandoned the Field for the ſame reaſon, and deſponding out of the conſideration that they labour'd only for others, have caſt themſelves into Towns or into Armies, to ſerve there for Porters, or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the *Rajas*, becauſe there they found leſs tyranny, and more kindneſs.

The *ſecond* is, That in this ſame extent of Country there are ſundry Nations, which the *Mogol* is not full Maſter of, moſt of them retaining yet their particular Sovereigns and Lords, that obey him not, nor pay him tribute but from conſtraint; many, that do little; ſome that do nothing at all; and ſome alſo, that receive tribute from him, as we ſhall ſee anon. Such are thoſe petty Sovereigns, that are ſeated on the Frontiers of *Perſia*, who almoſt never pay him any thing, no more than they do

to

to the King of *Perſia:* As alſo the *Balouches* and *Augans*, and other Mountineers, of whom alſo the greateſt part pay him but a ſmall matter, and even care but very little for him: witneſs the affront they did him, when they ſtopp'd his whole Army by cutting off the Water, which they kept back within the Mountains, when he paſſed from *Atek* on the River *Indus* to *Caboul*, to lay ſiege to *Kandahar*; not ſuffering the Water to run down into the Fields, where was the High-way, 'till they had received preſents, although they asked them by way of Alms. Such are alſo the *Patans*, a *Mahumetan* People, iſſued from the ſide of the River *Ganges* towards *Bengale*; who before the Invaſion of the *Mogols* in *India*, had taken their time to make themſelves potent in many places, and chiefly at *Dehli*, and to render many *Rajas* thereabout their Tributaries. Theſe *Patans* are fierce and warlike, and even the meaneſt of them, though they be waiting men and porters, are ſtill of a very high

high ſpirit, being often heard to ſay by way of ſwearing; *Let me never be King of* Dehli, *if it be not ſo:* A People that deſpiſe the *Indians*, *Heathen*, and *Mogols*, and mortally hate the laſt, ſtill remembring what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large Principalities, and conſtrained to retire hither and thither, far from *Dehli*, and *Agra*, into the Mountains, where now they are ſetled, and where ſome of them have made themſelves petty Sovereigns, like *Rajas*, but of ſmall ſtrength.

Such an one alſo is the King of *Viſapour*, who pays to the *Magol* nothing, and is always in War with him; maintaining himſelf in his Country, partly by his own forces, partly becauſe he is very remote from *Agra* and *Dehli*, the ordinary places of Reſidence of the Great *Mogol*; partly alſo becauſe his Capital City *Viſapour* is ſtrong and of difficult acceſs to an Army, by reaſon of the ill Waters and the want of Forrage on the way; and

and partly becauſe many *Rajas* joyn with him for their common defence, as did the famous *Seva-gi*, who not long ſince came pillaging and burning that rich Sea-port, *Suratte*, and who ſometimes will pay little or no Tribute.

Such is likwiſe that potent and rich King of *Golkonda*, who under-hand gives Money to the King of *Viſapour*, and hath always an Army ready on the Frontiers for his own defence, and for the aſſiſtance of *Viſapour*, in caſe he find him too much preſſed.

Of the like ſort are more than an hundred *Rajas*, or conſiderable *Heathen* Sovereigns, diſperſed through the whole Empire, ſome near to, others remote from *Agra* and *Dehli*: amongſt whom there are about fifteen or ſixteen that are very rich and puiſſant; ſuch as is *Rana* (who formerly was, as 'twere, Emperour of the *Rajas*; and who is ſaid to be of the Progeny of King *Porus*;) *Jeſſeignæ* and *Jeſſom ſeignæ*, which are ſo great and powerful, that if they three alone ſhould

ſhould combine, they would hold him tack; each of them being able, in a very ſhort time to raiſe and bring into the Field Twenty five thouſand Horſe, better Troops than the *Mogols*. Theſe Caveliers are called *Ragipouts*, or the Children of *Rajas*. They are men, who, as I have elſewhere ſaid, carry Swords from Father to Son, and to whom the *Rajas* allot Land, on condition to be always ready to appear on Horſeback, when the *Rája* commands. They can endure much hardſhip, and they want nothing to make them good Souldiers, but good Order and Diſcipline.

The *third* thing to be noted is, that the *Mogol* is a *Mahumetan*, not of the Sect called *Chias*, who follow *Aly* and his off-ſpring, (ſuch as the *Perſians* are, and conſequently the greateſt part of his Court;) but of that, which follows *Oſman*, and thence are called *Oſmanlys*, ſuch as the *Turks* are. Beſides, that he is a ſtranger, being of the Race of *Tamerlan*, who was the head of thoſe *Mogols*, that

that about the year 1401, over-ran *India*; where they made themſelves Maſters: ſo that he is in a Country, almoſt all hoſtile; and that the more, becauſe not only for one *Mogol*, but in general, for one *Mahumetan*, there are hundreds of *Gentiles* or *Heathen*; which obligeth him, conſtantly to entertain (for his defence among ſo many Domeſtick and Potent Enemies, and againſt the *Perſians* and *Usbecks*, his Neighbours) very great Armies, whether in time of Peace or War, as well about his Perſon as in the Field; as well of the People of the Countrey, (*Rajas* and *Patans*,) as chiefly *Mogolians*, or at leaſt eſteemed ſuch becauſe they are White, and *Mahumetans*; which ſufficeth at preſent; his Court being no more now as 'twas at firſt, conſiſting altogether of true *Mogols*; but a mixture of all ſorts of ſtrangers, *Usbecks*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Turks*, or their Children; but with this diſtinction, that the Children of the third or fourth generation, and that have taken the Brown colour,

and the ſoft humour of the Countrey, are not ſo much eſteem'd as the new comers; being alſo ſeldom raiſed to publick Offices; but counting themſelves happy, if they may ſerve as ſimple Horſemen or Foot.

Of theſe Armies I am now going to give you ſome deſcription, that thereby knowing the great expences, which the Grand *Mogol* is obliged to be at, you may the better judge of his true Riches; let us firſt take a view of the Field Militia, he is neceſſitated to maintain.

The chief thereof are the *Rajas*, ſuch as *Jeſſeignæ*, *Jeſſomſeignæ*, and many others, to whom he allows very great penſions to have them always ready with a certain number of *Ragipouts*, eſteeming them like *Omrahs*, that is, like other Strangers, and *Mahumetan* Lords; both in the Army, that is always about his perſon, and in thoſe alſo, that are in the Field. Theſe *Rajas* are generally obliged to the ſame things, that the *Omrahs* are, even to the point of keeping guard; yet

yet with this diſtinction, that they keep not the guard within the Fortreſs, as thoſe, but without, under their Tents; they not liking to be ſhut up twenty four hours in a Fortreſs, nor ſo much as ever to go thither but well attended with Men reſolute to be cut in pieces for their ſervice; as hath appeared, when they have been ill dealt withal.

The *Mogol* is obliged to keep theſe *Rajas* in his ſervice for ſundry reaſons. The *firſt*, becauſe the Militia of the *Rajas* is very good (as was ſaid above,) and becauſe there are *Rajas*, (as was intimated alſo) one of whom can bring into the Field above 25000 men. The *Second*, the better to bridle the other *Rajas*, and to reduce them to reaſon, when they cantonize, or when they refuſe to pay tribute, or when out of fear or other cauſe they will not go out of their Country to the Army, when the *Mogol* requireth it. The *third*, the better to nouriſh jealouſies and keenneſs amongſt them, by Favouring and Careſſing the one

more than the other, which is done to that degree, that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

The *fourth*, to employ them against the *Patans*, or against his own *Omrahs* and Governours, in case any of them should rise.

The *fifth*, to employ them against the King of *Golkonda*, when he refuseth to pay his tribute, or when he will defend the King of *Visapour*, or some *Rajas* his neighbours, which the *Mogol* hath a mind to rifle, or to make his tributaries; the *Mogol* in the those cases not daring to trust his *Omrahs* overmuch, who most are *Persians*, and not of the same Religion with him, but *Chias*, like the Kings of *Persia* and *Golkonda*.

The *sixth*, and the most considerable of all, is, to employ them against the *Persians* upon occasion; not daring then also to confide in his *Omrahs*, who for the greatest part, as was just now said, are *Persians*, and consequently have no stomach to Fight against their natural King; and the less, because

cauſe they believe him to be their *Imam*, their *Caliph* or high Prieſt, deſcended from *Aly*, and againſt whom therefore they believe they cannot make War without a crime or a great ſin.

The *Mogol* is farther obliged to entertain ſome *Patans* for the ſame, or ſomewhat like reaſons, that he doth the *Rajas*.

At laſt he muſt entertain that ſtranger Militia of the *Mogols*, that we have taken notice of: And as this is the main ſtrength of his State, and which obliges him to incredible charges, me thinks it will not be amiſs to deſcribe to you, of what nature it is, though I ſhould be ſomewhat long in doing it.

Let us therefore conſider, if you pleaſe, this ſtranger Militia, both Cavalry and Infantry, as divided into two; the *one* being always near the *Mogol*'s Perſon; the *other*, diſperſed up and down in the ſeveral Provinces. And in the Cavalry that is about his Perſon, let us firſt take notice of the *Omrahs*;

then, of the *Manſebdars*; next, of the *Rouſindars*, laſt of all, of the ſimple Horſemen. From thence let us proceed to the Infantry, in which we ſhall conſider the Muſquetiers, and all thoſe men on foot that attend the Ordnance; where ſomething will occur to be ſaid of their Artillery.

It is not to be thought, that the *Omrahs* or Lords of the *Mogol's* Court are Sons of great Families, as in *France*; All the Lands of that Empire being the *Mogol's* propriety, it follows, that there are neither Dutchies, nor Marquiſats, nor any Family Rich in Land, and ſubſiſting of its own income and patrimony. And often enough they are not ſo much as *Omrahs* Sons, becauſe the King being Heir of all their Eſtates, it is conſequent that the Houſes cannot ſubſiſt long in their greatneſs; on the contrary, they often fall and that on a ſudden, inſomuch that the Sons, or at leaſt the Grandſons of a Potent *Omrah* are frequently, after the death of their Father, reduced in a manner to Beggery, and ob-

obliged to liſt themſelves under ſome *Omrah* for ſimple Horſemen. 'Tis true, that ordinarily the *Mogol* leaves ſome ſmall penſion to the Widow, and often alſo to the Children; or, if the Father liveth too long, he may by particular favour advance them ſooner, eſpecially if they be proper men, white of Face, having as yet not too much of the *Indian* Complexion and temper, and ſo paſſing yet for true *Mogols*: Though this advancement by favour do always proceed in a ſlow pace; it being almoſt a general cuſtom, that a man muſt paſs from ſmall Pays and ſmall Places to great ones. Theſe *Omrahs* then are commonly but Adventurers and Strangers of all ſorts of Nations, ſuch as I have ſaid; which draw one another to this Court; men of a mean deſcent, ſome of them ſlaves; moſt of them without inſtruction; which the *Mogol* thus raiſeth to dignities as he thinks good, and degrades them again, as he pleaſeth.

Amongſt theſe *Omrahs*, ſome are *Hazary*, others *Dou Hazary*, others

Penge, Hecht, and *Deh Hazary*, and even (such as was the the Kings eldeſt Son) *Dovazdeh Hazary*, that is to ſay, Lord of a thouſand Horſe, of two thouſand, five thouſand, ſeven, ten, and tweive thouſand; their pay being leſs or more in proportion to the number of Horſes; I ſay, of Horſes, becauſe they are not paid in reſpect of the Horſemen, but of the Horſe; the *Omrahs* having power to entertain Horſemen of two Horſes a man, to be the better able to ſerve in the hot Countrys, where 'tis a common ſaying, that the Horſeman that hath but one Horſe, is more than half a Footman. Yet we muſt not think, that they are obliged to entertain, or that the King effectively pays ſo many Horſe, as theſe great names of *Dovazdeh* or *Hecht Hazary* do impart, that is, 12000 or 8000 Horſe. Theſe are ſpecious Names, to amuſe and attract Strangers; the King determines the number of Horſes in actual ſervice, which they are bound to entertain, pays them according to this number; and beſides that,

that, he payes them a certain number which they are not bound to entertain; and this is that which ordinarily makes the principal part of their penſions; not to ſpeak of what they finger out of the pay of every Horſeman, and of the number of the Horſes; which certainly amounts to very conſiderable Penſions; eſpecially if they can obtain good *Jah-ghirs*, that is, good Lands for their Penſion. For I ſaw, that the Lord, under whom I was, that was a *Penge-hazary*, or one of five thouſand Horſe, and who was only obliged to entertain five hundred in effect, had, after all his Cavalry was paid, remaining for his Penſion near five thouſand Crowns a Month; though he was *Nagdy*, that is, paid in Money drawn out of the Treaſury, as all thoſe are, that have not Lands. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe great Penſions, I ſee none but very few that are rich, but many that are uneaſie and indebted: Not that they are ruined by keeping too plentiful Tables, as elſewhere great Lords frequently are; but

but that which exhausteth them, are the great Presents which they are obliged to make to the King at certain Festivals of the year, every one after the rate of his pay; next, the vast expences they must be at for entertaining their Wives, Servants, Camels, and many Horses of great value, which they keep in their particular Stables.

The number of the *Omrahs*, as well of those, that are in the Field in the Provinces and Armies, as of those that are at the Court, is very great. I never could precisely learn it; nor is it determined: But I have never seen less of them at Court, than twenty five or thirty, that are thus Pensionaries according to a greater or lesser number of Horses to be entertain'd by them, from 12000 downward to 1000. These are the *Omrahs*, that arrive to the Governments and principal Offices of the Court and Armies; that are, as they speak, the Pillars of the Empire, and that keep up the splendor of the Court; never going abroad, but richly deck'd, some-

ſometimes riding on Elephants, ſometimes on Horſeback, ſometimes carried in a *Paleky* or Chair, commonly attended by a good number of Horſemen, to wit, of thoſe that have the guard at that time, as alſo by many Foot-men, marching before and on his ſides, to make way, to drive away the Flies, to take off the duſt with Peacocks-tails, to carry water for drink, and ſometimes Books of Accounts, or other Papers.

All thoſe that are at Court, are obliged, under a conſiderable penalty, to come twice every day to ſalute the King in the Aſſembly, once about ten or eleven a Clock in the morning, when he renders Juſtice; and the ſecond time, about ſix hours at night. They are alſo obliged by turns to keep the guard in the Caſtle once a week, during twenty four hours. Thither they carry at that time their Beds, Tapiſſeries and other Moveables, the King furniſhing them with nothing but proviſions of Meat and Drink, which they receive with great reve-

rence;

rence, making a treble obeisance, with their face turned to his Apartment, their hands down to the ground, and then lifted up upon their heads. Besides, they are obliged on horseback to follow the King whithersoever he marcheth in any weather, rainy or dusty, whether he be carried in his Chair, or on an Elephant, or a Field-Throne, which last is done by eight men carrying him on their shoulders, eight others marching on his side, to relieve the others; himself being in all Marches well cover'd from the inconveniencies of the weather, whether he go to war, or to hunt, or to exercise his Souldiery. And this attendance those *Omrahs* are to give, except some of them be exempted by the *Mogol* because of their peculiar Offices, or upon the account of sickness or old age, or to avoid embarasment, as commonly 'tis practised, when he goeth only to some neighbouring Town to hunt, or to some house of pleasure, or to the Mosquee, there being then seldom any about him but those that keep the Guard that day.

Man-

Manſebdars are Cavaliers of *Manſeb*, which is particular and honourable pay; not ſo great indeed as that of the *Omrahs*, but much greater than that of the others; they being eſteemed as little *Omrahs*, and of the rank of thoſe, that are raiſed to that dignity.

Theſe acknowledge alſo none for their Head but the King, and they are generally obliged to whatever we have ſaid the *Omrahs* are. In a word, they would be true *Omrahs*, if they had, as divers heretofore have had, ſome Horſemen under them; whereas they have ordinarily but two, four, or ſix Horſes having the Kings mark, and their pay goes no higher than from 200, to 600 or 700 *Roupies* a Month. Their number alſo is not fixed, but much exceeds that of the *Omrahs*, there being of them at the Court always two or three hundred, beſides thoſe that are in the Provinces and Armies.

Rouzindars are alſo a ſort of Cavaliers, but ſuch as have their pay by the day, (as the word it ſelf imports) which

which yet ſometimes is greater than that of many *Manſebdars*, but not ſo honourable; but then they are not bound, as the *Manſebdars*, to take at a ſet price (which ſometies is not too reaſonable) of thoſe Tapiſſeries and other Houſe-hold-ſtuff, that hath ſerved for the Kings Pallace. Their number is very great; they enter into the meaner Offices, many of them being Clerks, under-Clerks, Signet-men, and the like.

Simple Cavaliers, are thoſe, that are under the *Omrahs*; amongſt whom the moſt conſiderable and having moſt Pay are thoſe, that have two Horſes marked on the Leg with the mark of their *Omrah*. Their Pay is not abſolutely fixed, but depends chiefly from the generoſity of the *Omrah*, who may favour whom he pleaſeth. Yet the *Mogol*'s intention is, that the Pay of a ſimple Cavalier or Horſeman be no leſs than twenty five *Roupies* or thereabout a Month, ſtating his accound with the *Omrahs* upon that Foot.

The

The pay of the Foot is the leaſt; and their Muſquetiers are pitiful men, unleſs they diſcharge when their Musket leans on that ſmall woodden fork hanging to it; yet even then they are afraid of ſingeing their great Beards, and of burning their Eyes, but moſt of all, leaſt ſome *Dgen* or evil ſpirit burſt their Musket. Some of theſe have 20 *Roupies* a Month, ſome 15, ſome 10. But yet there are ſome Gunners, that have great Pay, eſpecially thoſe of the *Franguis* or *Chriſtians*, as *Portugueſes*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, *French*, that retire thither from *Goa*, flying from *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies. Heretofore when the *Mogols* did not yet know how to manage Artillery, their Pay was very great. And there are yet ſome of that time, who have 200 *Roupies* a Month; but now they will recieve none for more than thirty two.

Their Artillery is of two ſorts; the one is the great and heavy Artillery; the other the light. As for the former,

mer, I remember, that when the King after his Sickneſs went with his whole Army abroad into the Country, diverting himſelf every day in Hunting, ſometimes of Cranes, ſometimes of the gray Oxen (a kind of Elks) ſometimes of Gazels, Leopards and Lions, and making his progreſs towards *Lahor* and *Kachemire* (that little paradiſe of *India*) there to paſs the Summer, the Army had ſeventy pieces of Cannon, moſt of them caſt, not counting the two or three hundred Camels, carrying each a ſmall Field-piece of the bigneſs of a good double Musket, faſtned to thoſe Animals. The other light Artillery is very brave and well order'd, conſiſting of fifty or ſixty ſmall Field-pieces all of Braſs, each mounted on a little Chariot, very fine and well painted, with a ſmall Coffer before and behind for the Powder, drawn by two very fair Horſes, driven by a Coachman like a *Caleche*, adorned with a number of ſmall red Streamers, each having a third Horſe, led by the Chariot for relief. The

The great Artillery could not alwayes follow the King, who often left the High-way, and turn'd ſometimes to the right, ſometimes to the left hand, croſſing the fields, to find the true places for Game, and to follow the courſe of the Rivers. *That* therefore was to keep the High way to go the more eaſily, and to avoid the embaraſments, which it would have met with in the ill paſſages, eſpecially in thoſe Boat-Bridges made to paſs Rivers. The light Artillery is inſeparable from the perſon of the King, it marcheth away in the morning, when the King comes out of his Tent, and whereas he commonly goes a little aſide into the places for game, this Artillery paſſeth on ſtraight with all poſſible ſpeed, to be in time at the Rendez-vous, and there to appear before the Kings Tent, which is there made ready the day before; as are alſo the Tents of the great *Omrahs*: And this whole Artillery giveth a volley juſt when the King enters into his Tent, thereby to give notice to the Army of his arrival.

The Militia of the Field is not different from that which is about the King: There are every where *Omrahs*, *Mansebdars*, *Rousindars*, simple Horsemen, and Foot and Artillery where-ever any War is made. The difference is only in the number, which is much greater in the Field-Army, than in the other. For that Army alone, which the *Mogol* is constrained perpetually to maintain in *Decan*, to bridle the potent King of *Golkonda*, and to make War upon the King of *Visapour*, and upon all the *Raja's* that joyn with him, must consist at least of twenty or twenty five thousand Horse, sometimes of thirty.

The Kingdom of *Kaboul*, for its ordinary Guard against the *Persians*, *Augans*, *Balouches*, and I know not how many Mounteniers, requireth at least fifteen thousand. The Kingdom of *Kachmire*, more than four thousand; and the Kingdom of *Bengale*, much more; not counting those that are employed in the War, which must almost alwayes be maintained on that side;

ſide; nor thoſe which the Governors of the ſeveral Provinces do need for their defence, according to the particular extent and ſituation of their Governments; which maketh an incredible number.

Not to mention the Infantry (which is inconſiderable) I am apt to believe with many others, well informed of theſe matters, that the number of the Horſe in actual ſervice about the Kings perſon, comprehending the Cavalry of the *Raja's* and *Patans*, mounteth to thirty five or forty thouſand; and that this number, joyned to thoſe that is abroad in the Field, may make two hundred thouſand, and better.

I ſay, that the Infantry is inconſiderable; for I can hardly believe, that in the Army which is about the King, compriſing the Muſquetiers, and all the Gunners and their Mates, and whatever ſerves in this Artillery, can amount to much more than fifteen thouſand; whence you may make a near gueſs, what the number of the Foot muſt be in the Field. So

that I know not whence to take that prodigious number of Foot, which ſome do reckon in the Armies of the Great *Mogol*, unleſs it be, that with this true Souldiery they confound all the Serving-men and Victualers, that follow the Army; for in that ſence I ſhould eaſily believe, that they had reaſon to reckon two or three hundred thouſand men in that Army alone which is with the King, and ſometimes more; eſpecially when 'tis certain, that he is to be long abſent from the Capital City; which will not ſeem ſo ſtrange to him, that conſiders the multitude and confuſion of Tents, Kitchens, Baggage, Women, Elephants, Camels, Oxen, Horſes, Waiting-men, Porters, Forragers, Victualers, Merchants of all ſorts, that muſt follow the Army; nor to him, that knows the State and particular Government of that Countrey, wherein the King is the ſole proprietor of all the Lands of the Kingdom; whence it neceſſarily follows, that a whole Metropolitan City, ſuch as *Deh-*

ly

ly and *Agra*, liveth of almoſt nothing but of the Souldiery, and is conſequently obliged to follow the King when he taketh the Field; thoſe Towns being nothing leſs than *Paris*, but indeed no otherwiſe governed than a Camp of Armies a little better and more conveniently lodged than in the open Field.

Beſides all theſe things, you may alſo conſider, if you pleaſe, that generally all this Militia, which I have been repreſenting to you, from the greateſt *Omrah*, to the meaneſt Souldier, is indiſpenſably paid every two months; the Kings pay being its ſole refuge and relief; nor can its pay be deferred there, as 'tis ſometimes with us, where, when there are preſſing occaſions of the State, a Gentleman, an Officer, and even a ſimple Cavalier, can ſtay a while, and maintain himſelf of his own Stock, Rents and the Incomes of his Land. But in the *Mogol*'s Countrey, all muſt be paid at the time preſix'd, or all disbands and ſtarves, after they have ſold that little they have; as I ſaw in this laſt War,

that many were going to do, if it had not ſoon ceaſed. And this the more, becauſe that in all this Militia there is almoſt no Souldier that hath not wife and children, ſervants and ſlaves, that look for this pay, and have no other hope of relief. And hence it is, that many wonder, conſidering the huge number of perſons living of pay (which amounts to millions) whence ſuch vaſt Revenues can be had for ſuch exceſſive Charges: Although this need not to be ſo much wondred at, conſidering the Riches of the Empire, the peculiar Government of the State, and the ſaid univerſal propriety of the Sovereign.

You may add to all this, that the Grand *Mogol* keeps nigh him at *Dehly* and *Agra*, and thereabout, two or three thouſand brave Horſes, to be always ready upon occaſion; as alſo eight or nine hundred Elephants, and a vaſt number of Mules, Horſes, and Porters, to carry all the great Tents and their Cabinets, to carry his Wives, Kitchens, Houſhold-ſtuff,

Ganges-

Ganges-Water, and all the other Neceſſaries for the Field, which he hath always about him as if he were at home; things not abſolutely neceſſary in our Kingdoms.

To this may be added thoſe incredible Expences upon the *Seraglio*, more indiſpenſable than will be eaſily believed; that vaſt ſtore of fine Linnen, Cloth of Gold, Embroideries, Silks, Musk, Amber, Pearls, ſweet Eſſences, *&c.* conſumed there.

All theſe Charges being put together, and compared with the Revenues the *Mogol* may be thought to have, it will be eaſie to judge, whether he be indeed ſo very rich, as he is made to be. As for me, I very well know, that it cannot be denied, that he hath very great Revenues; I believe, he hath more alone than the *Grand Seignior* and the King of *Perſia* both together: But then, to believe all thoſe extravagant Stories made of the vaſtneſs of his Revenues, is a thing I could never do: And if I ſhould believe the beſt part

of them, yet ſhould I not believe him in effect and truly ſo rich, as the World rings of him; unleſs a man would ſay, that a Treaſurer, who receiveth great ſums of Money from one hand at the ſame time when he is obliged to diſburſe them to another, were therefore truly rich. For my part, I ſhould count that King rich indeed, who, without oppreſſing and impoveriſhing his People too much, ſhould have a Revenue ſufficient to keep a Great and Gallant Court (after the manner of that of ours, or otherwiſe) and a Militia ſufficient both to guard his Kingdom, and to make an important War for divers years againſt his Neighbours; as alſo to ſhew liberality, to build ſome Royal Edifices, and to make thoſe other Expences which Kings are wont to make according to their particular Inclinations; and who, beſides all this, ſhould be able to put up in his Treaſury, for a Reſerve, Sums big enough to undertake and maintain a good War for ſome years. Now I

am

am apt enough to believe, that the Great *Mogol* enjoyeth very near theſe Advantages, but I cannot perſwade my ſelf, that he hath them in that exceſs, as is thought and pretended. Thoſe vaſt and unevitable Expences, that I have taken notice of, will certainly incline you to my opinion without any other conſideration; but you will doubtleſs be altogether of my mind, when I ſhall have repreſented to you theſe two things, which I am very well informed of.

The *one* is, that the Great *Mogol*, now reigning, about the end of this laſt Revolution, though the Kingdom was every where in peace (except in *Bengale*, where *Sultan-Sujah* yet held out) was much perplexed where to find means for the ſubſiſtence of his Armies, though they were not ſo well paid as at other times, and the War laſted no longer than five years or thereabout, and though alſo he had laid hold of a good part of the Treaſury of his Father *Chah-Jehan*.

The

The *other* is, That all this Treasure of *Chah-jehan*, who was very frugal, and had Reigned above forty Years without considerable Wars, never mounted to six *Kourours* of *Roupies*. A *Roupy* is about twenty nine pence. An hundred thousand of them make a *Lecque*, and an hundred *Lecques* make one *Kourour*. * 'Tis true, I do not comprehend in this great Treasure that great abundance of Gold-smiths work, so variously wrought in Gold and Silver; nor that vast store of precious Stones and Pearls of a very high value. I doubt, whether there be any King in the World that hath more. The Throne alone, cover'd with them, is valued at least three *Kourours*, if I remember aright. But then, it is to be consider'd also, that they are the spoils of those ancient Princes, the *Patans* and *Rajas*, gathered and piled up from Immemorial times, and still increasing from one King to another, by the Presents which the

* So that the six Kourours would make about seven Millions and an half English Money.

the *Omrahs* are obliged yearly at certain Feſtival-days to make him; and which are eſteemed to be the Jewels of the Crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a King of *Mogol* in caſe of neceſſity would find it very hard to procure the leaſt Sum.

But before I conclude, I ſhall take notice, whence it may proceed, that though this Empire of *Mogol* be thus an Abyſs of Gold and Silver, (as hath been ſaid,) yet notwithſtanding there appears no more of it among the People, than elſewhere; yea, rather that the People is there leſs Monied than in other places.

The *firſt* reaſon is, that much of it is conſumed in melting over and over all thoſe Noſe and Ear-rings, Chains, Finger-rings, Bracelets of Hands and Feet, which the Women wear, but chiefly in that incredible quantity of Manufactures, wherein ſo much is ſpent, which is loſt, as in all thoſe Embroideries, Silk-ſtuffs, enterwoven with Gold and Silver, Cloath, Scarfs,

Scarf, Turbants, &c. of the ſame: For generally all that Militia loveth to be guided from the *Omrahs* to the meaneſt Souldiers with their Wives and Children, though they ſhould ſtarve at home.

The *ſecond*, That all the Lands of the Kingdom being the Kings propriety, they are given either as Benefices, which they call *Jah-ghirs*, or, as in *Turky*, *Timars*, to men of the Militia for their Pay or Penſion (as the word *Jah-ghir* imports:) Or elſe they are given to the Governours for their Penſion, and the entertainment of their Troops, on condition that of the ſurplus of thoſe Land-revenues they give yearly a certain ſum to the King, as Farmers; Or, laſtly, the King reſerveth them for himſelf as a particular Domaine of his Houſe, which never or very ſeldom are given as *Jah-ghirs*, and upon which he keeps Farmers, who alſo muſt give him a yearly ſum; which is to ſay, that the *Timariots*, *Governours* and *Farmers* have an abſolute Authority over the Country-

try-men, and even a very great one over the Tradeſmen and Merchants of the Towns, Boroughs, and Villages, depending from them: ſo that in thoſe parts there are neither great Lords nor Parliaments, nor Preſidial Courts, as amongſt us, to keep theſe People in awe; nor *Kadis* or Judges powerful enough to hinder and repreſs their violence. Nor, in a word, any perſon, to whom a Country-man, Tradeſman, or Merchant, can make his complaints to, in caſes of extortion and tyranny, often practiſed upon them, by the Souldiery and Governours, who every where do impunely abuſe the Authority Royal, which they have in hand, unleſs it be perhaps a little in thoſe places that are near to Capital Cities, as *Dehly* and *Agra*, and in great Towns, and conſiderable Sea-ports of the Provinces, whence they know that the complaints can be more eaſily conveyed to the Court. Whence it is, that all and every one ſtand in continual fear of theſe People, eſpecially of the Gover-

Governours more than any Slave doth of his Master: that ordinarily they affect to appear poor and Money-less, very mean in their Apparel, Lodging, Houshold-stuff, and yet more in Meat and Drink; that often they apprehend even to meddle with Trade, lest they should be thought Rich, and so fall into the danger of being ruined: So that at last they find no other remedy to secure their Wealth, than to hide and dig their Money deep under Ground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of Men, and so Dying, neither the King nor the State having any benefit by it. Which is a thing not only happens among the Peasants and Artizans, but (which is far more considerable) amongst all sorts of Merchants, whether *Mahumetans* or *Heathens*, except some that are in the Kings, or some *Omrahs* Pay, or that have some particular Patron and support in power. But principally among the *Heathen*, which are almost the only Masters of the Trade and Money, infatuated with the belief,

lief, that the Gold and Silver, which they hide in their life-time, ſhall ſerve them after death. And this, in my opinion, is the true reaſon, why there appears ſo little Money in Trade among the People.

But thence ariſeth a Queſtion very conſiderable, *viz.* Whether it were not more expedient, not only for the Subjects, but for the State it ſelf, and for the Sovereign, not to have the Prince ſuch a Proprietor of the Lands of the Kingdom, as to take away the *Meum* and *Tuum* amongſt private perſons, as 'tis with us? For my part, after a ſtrict comparing the State of our Kingdoms, where that *Meum* and *Tuum* holds, with that of thoſe other Kingdoms, where it is not, I am thoroughly perſwaded, that it is much better and more beneficial for the Sovereign himſelf, to have it ſo as 'tis in our parts. Becauſe that in thoſe parts where 'tis otherwiſe, the Gold and Silver is loſt, as I was juſt now obſerving: There is almoſt no perſon ſecure from the violences of

thoſe

those Timariots, Governours, and Farmers: The Kings, how well soever they be disposed toward their people, are never almost in a condition (as I lately noted) to get Justice administred to them, and to hinder tyrannies; especially in those great Dominions, and in the Provinces remote from the Capital Towns; Which yet ought to be, as doubtless it is, one of the chief employments and considerations of a King. Besides, this tyranny often grows to that excess, that it takes away what is necessary to the life of a Peasant or Tradesman, who is starved for hunger and misery, who gets no Children, or if he does, sees them die young for want of food; or that abandons his Land, and turns some Cavalier's man, or flies whither he may to his neighbours, in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word, the Land is not tilled but almost by force, and consequently very ill, and much of it is quite spoiled and ruined, there being none to be found, that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches

ditches and channels for the courſe of waters to be conveyed to neceſſary places; nor any body that care to build Houſes, or to repair thoſe that are ruinous: the Peaſant reaſoning thus with himſelf: Why ſhould I toil ſo much for a Tyrant that may come to morrow to take all away from me, or at leaſt all the beſt of what I have, and not leave, if the fancy taketh him, ſo much as to ſuſtain my life even very poorly? And the Timariot, the Governour and the Farmer, will reaſon thus with himſelf; Why ſhould I beſtow Money and take pains of bettering or maintaining this Land, ſince I muſt every hour expect to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for my ſelf nor for my Children; and that place which I have this year, I may perhaps have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilſt we poſſeſs it, though the Peaſant ſhould break or ſtarve, though the Land ſhould become a deſert, when I am gone!

And for this very reaſon it is, that we

ſee thoſe vaſt Eſtates in *Aſia* go ſo wretchedly and palpably to ruin. Thence it is, that throughout thoſe parts we ſee almoſt no other Towns but made up of earth and dirt; nothing but ruin'd and deſerted Towns and Villages, or ſuch as are going to ruin. Even thence it is, that we ſee (for Example) thoſe *Meſopotamia's*, *Anatolia's*, *Paleſtina's*, thoſe admirable plains of *Antioch*, and ſo many other Lands, anciently ſo well tilled, ſo fertile, and ſo well peopled, at the preſent half deſerted, untill'd, and bandon'd, or become peſtilent and uninhabitable bogs. Thence it is alſo, that of thoſe incomparable Lands of *Egypt* it is obſerved, that within leſs than *four-ſcore* years, more than the *tenth* part of it is loſt, no people being to be found, that will expend what is neceſſary to maintain all the Channels, and to reſtrain the River *Nile* from violently overflowing on one hand, and ſo drowning too much the low Lands, or from covering them with Sand, which cannot be removed from thence but with

with great pains and charges. From the ſame root it comes, that Arts are languiſhing in thoſe Countries, or at leaſt flouriſh much leſs than elſe they would do, or do with Us. For what heart and ſpirit can an Artizan have to ſtudy well, and to apply his mind to his work, when he ſees, that among the people, which is for the moſt part beggerly or will appear ſo, there is none that conſiders the goodneſs and neatneſs of his Work, every body looking for what is cheap? and that the Grandees pay them but very ill and when they pleaſe? The poor Tradeſmen often thinking himſelf happy, that he can get clear from them without the *Korrah*, which is that terrible whip, that hangs nigh the gate of the *Omrahs*: Further, when he ſeeth that there is no help at all ever to come to any thing, as to buy an Office, or ſome Land for himſelf and Children, and that even he dares not appear to have a peny in caſh, or to wear good cloaths, or to eat a good meal, for fear he ſhould be thought rich. And indeed

the beauty and exactneſs of Arts had been quite loſt in thoſe parts long ago, if it were not that the Kings and Grandees there did give wages to certain Workmen, that work in their Houſes, and there teach their Children, and endeavour to make themſelves able in order to be a little more conſidered, and to eſcape the *Korrah*; and if alſo it were not, that thoſe great and rich Merchants of Towns, who are protected by good and powerful Patrons, pay'd thoſe workmen a little better: I ſay, *a little Better*; for, what fine ſtuffs ſoever we ſee come from thoſe Countreys, we muſt not imagine, that the workman is there in any honour, or comes to any thing; 'tis nothing but meer neceſſity or the cudgel, that makes him work, he never grows rich; it is no ſmall matter, when he hath wherewith to live and to cloath himſelf narrowly. If their be any Money to gain of the work, that is not for him, but for thoſe great Merchants of Towns, I was juſt now ſpeaking of; and even theſe themſelves find it often difficult enough

enough to maintain themſelves, and to prevent extorſion.

'Tis from the ſame cauſe alſo, that a groſs and profound ignorance reigns in thoſe States. For how is it poſſible, there ſhould be Academies and Colleges well founded, where are ſuch Founders to be met with? And if there were any, whence were the Schollars to be had? Where are thoſe that have means ſufficient to maintain their Children in Colleges? And if there were, who would appear to be ſo rich? And if they would, where are thoſe Benefices, Preferments and Dignities that require knowledge and abilities, and that may animate young men to ſtudy?

Thence it is likewiſe, that Traffick languiſhes in all that Country, in compariſon of ours. For how many are there, that care to take pains, to run up and down, to write much, and to run danger for another, for a Governour, that ſhall extort, if he be not in league with ſome conſiderable ſword-man, whoſe ſlave he in a manner is, and

that makes his own conditions with him?

It is not there, that the Kings find for their ſervice, Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, ſons of rich and good Families, Officers, Citizens, Merchants and even Tradeſ-men well-born, well-educated, and well-inſtructed; men of courage, that have a true affection and reſpect for their King, that often live a great while at the Court and in the Army at their own expences, entertaining themſelves with good hopes, and content with the favourable aſpect of the Prince; and who upon occaſion fight manfully, covetous to uphold the honour of their Anceſtors and Families. Thoſe Kings, I ſay, never ſee about them but men of nothing, Slaves, Ignorants, Brutes, and ſuch Courtizans as are raiſed from the duſt to dignities, and that for want of good education and inſtruction almoſt always retain ſomewhat of their offſpring, of the temper of beggars, enriched, proud, unſufferable, heartleſs, inſenſible of honour, diſ-ingenuous, and

and void of affection and regard for the honour of their King & Countrey. Here it is, where thoſe Kings muſt ruine all, to find means to defray all thoſe prodigious Charges, which they cannot avoid for entertaining their great Court, which hath no other ſource to ſubſiſt but their Coffers and Treaſure, and for maintaining conſtantly the vaſt number of Souldiers, neceſſary for them to keep the People in ſubjection, to prevent their running away, to make them work, and to get what is exacted from them, they being ſo many Deſperado's, for being perpetually under hatches, and for labouring only for others.

Thence it is alſo, that in an important War that may happen (which may be almoſt at all times) they muſt almoſt of neceſſity ſell the Government for ready Money and immenſe Sums; whence chiefly that ruine and deſolation comes to paſs which we ſee. For the Governour, which is the Buyer, muſt not he be re-imburſed of all thoſe great Sums of Money, which he hath

taken up, perhaps the third or fourth part, at high intereſt? Muſt not a Governour alſo, whether he have bought the Government or not, find means as well as a Timariot and a Farmer, to make every year great Preſents to a *Viſir*, an *Eunuch*, a Lady of the *Seraglio*, and to thoſe other perſons, that ſupport him at Court? Muſt he not pay to the King his uſual Tributes, and withal enrich himſelf, that wretched Slave, half famiſh'd and deeply indebted when he firſt appeared, without Goods, Lands, and revenues of his Houſe; ſuch as they all are? Do not they ruin all, and lay all waſte; I mean thoſe, that in the Provinces are like ſo many ſmall Tyrants with a boundleſs and unmeaſured Authority, there being no body there, as hath been already ſaid, that can reſtrain them, or to whom a Subject can have refuge, to ſave himſelf from their tyranny and to obtain juſtice?

'Tis true, that in the Empire of the *Mogol* the *Vakea-nevis*, that is, thoſe Perſons, whom he ſends into the Provinces

vinces to write to him whatever paſſeth there, do a little keep the Officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (as it almoſt always happens) to devour all; as alſo that the Governments are not there ſo often ſold, nor ſo openly as in *Turky*; I ſay, *not ſo openly* (for thoſe great Preſents, they are from time to time obliged to make, are almoſt equivalent to Sales) and that the Governors ordinarily remain longer in their Governments; which maketh them not ſo hungry, ſo beggarly, and ſo deep in debt, as thoſe new Comers, and that conſequently they do not always tyrannize over the people with ſo much cruelty; even apprehending, leſt they ſhould run away to the *Raja's*; which yet falls out very often.

'Tis alſo true, that in *Perſia* the Governments are not ſo frequently nor ſo publickly ſold as in *Turky*; the Sons of the Governors alſo ſucceding often enough to their Fathers; which is alſo the cauſe, that the people there is often not ſo ill treated as in *Turky*, and occa-

occasions withal, that there is more politeness, and that even some there are that addict themselves to study. But all that is really but a slight matter; those three States of *Turky*, *Persia* and *Indostan*, forasmuch as they have all three taken away the *Meum* and *Tuum* as to Land and Propriety of possessions (which is the foundation of whatever is good and regular in the world) cannot but very near resemble one another: they have the same defect, they must at last, sooner or later, needs fall into the same inconveniencies, which are the necessary consequences of it, *viz*, Tyranny, Ruine, and Desolation.

Far be it therefore, that our Monarchs of *Europe* should thus be proprietors of all the Lands which their Subjects possess. Their Kingdoms would be very far from being so well cultivated and peopled, so well built, so rich, so polite and flourishing as we see them. Our Kings are otherwise rich and powerful; and we must avow that we are much better and more royally

ally ſerved. There would be Kings of Deſarts and Solitudes, of Beggars and Barbarians, ſuch as thoſe are whom I have been repreſenting; who, becauſe they will have all, at laſt loſe all; and who, becauſe they will make themſelves too rich, at length find themſelves without riches, or, at leaſt, very far from that which they covet after, out of their blind ambition and paſſion of being more abſolute than the Laws of God and Nature do permit. For, where would be thoſe Princes, thoſe Prelates, thoſe Nobles, thoſe rich Citizens and great Merchants, and thoſe famous Artizans, thoſe Towns of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Thoulouſe*, *Rouën*, *London*, and ſo many others? Where would be that infinite number of Burroughs and Villages, all thoſe fair Countrey-houſes, and Fields, and Hillocks tilled and maintained with ſo much induſtry, care and labour? And where would conſequently be all thoſe vaſt Revenues drawn thence, which at laſt enrich the Subjects and the Sovereign both? We ſhould find the great Cities,

ties, and the great Burroughs rendred inhabitable becauſe of the ill Air, and to fall to ruine without any bodies taking care of repairing them; the hillocks abandoned, and the fields overſpred with the buſhes, or filled with Peſtilential Mariſhes, as hath been already intimated.

A word to our dear and experienc'd Travellers: They would not find thoſe fair conveniencies of travelling; they would be obliged to carry all things with them, like the *Bohemians*; and all thoſe good Inns, for example, that are found between *Paris* and *Lyons*, would be like ten or twelve wretched *Caravans-ſerrahs*, that is, great Barns, raiſed and paved, ſuch as our *Pont-neuf* is, where hundreds of men are found pel-mel together with their Horſes, Mules and Camels, where one is ſtifled with heat in Summer, and ſtarved of cold in Winter, if it were not for the breathing of thoſe Animals, that warm the place a little.

But it will be ſaid, we ſee ſome States, where the *Meum* and *Tuum* is not

not (as for example, that of the Grand *Seignor*, which we know better than any, without going ſo far as the *Indies*) that do not only ſubſiſt, but are alſo very powerful, and encreaſe daily.

'Tis true, that that State of the Grand *Seignor*, of ſuch a prodigious extent as it is, having ſo vaſt a quantity of Lands, the Soil of which is ſo excellent, that it cannot be deſtroyed but very difficultly, and in a long time, is yet rich and populous; but it is certain alſo, that if it were cultivated and peopled proportionably to ours (which it would be, if there were propriety among the Subjects throughout) it would be a quite different thing; it would have people enough to raiſe ſuch prodigious Armies as in old times, and rich enough to maintain them. We have travelled through almoſt all the parts of it; we have ſeen how ſtrangely it is ruin'd and unpeopled; and how in the Capital City there now need three whole Months to raiſe five or ſix thouſand men. We know alſo, what it would have come to ere this,

if

if it had not been for the great number of Chriſtian Slaves, that are brought into it from all parts. And no doubt but that, if the ſame Government were continued there for a number of years, that State would deſtroy it ſelf, and at laſt, fall by its own weakneſs, as it ſeems that already it is, hardly maintained but only by that means, I mean, by the frequent change of Governors; there being not one Governor, nor any one man in the whole Empire, that hath a penny to enable him to maintain the leaſt thing, or that can almoſt find any men, if he had Money. A ſtrange manner to make States to ſubſiſt! There would need no more for making an end of the Seditions, than a *Brama* of *Pegu*, who killed the half of the Kingdom with hunger, and turned it into Foreſts, hindring for ſome years the Lands from being tilled, though yet he hath not ſucceeded in his Deſign, and the State have afterwards been divided, and that even lately *Ava*, the Capital Town, was upon the point of being

ing taken by an handful of *China*-fugitives. Mean time we muſt confeſs, that we are not like to ſee in our dayes that total ruine and deſtruction of this Empire we are ſpeaking of (if ſo be we ſee not ſomething worſe) becauſe it hath Neighbors, that are ſo far from being able to undertake any thing againſt him, that they are not ſo much as in a condition to reſiſt him, unleſs it be by thoſe ſuccours of ſtrangers, which the remoteneſs and jealouſie would make ſlow, ſmall, and ſuſpect.

But it might be yet further objected, that it appears not, why ſuch States as theſe might not have good Laws, and why the people in the Provinces might not be enabled to come and make their complaints to a Grand *Viſir*, or to the King himſelf. 'Tis true, that they are not altogether deſtitute of good Laws, and that, if thoſe which are amongſt them were obſerved, there would be as good living there, as in any part of the world. But what are thoſe Laws good for, if they be not obſerved,

ved, and if there be no means to make them to be executed? Is it not the Grand *Visir*, or the King that appoints for the people such beggarly Tyrants, and that hath no others to set over them? Is it not He that sells those governments? Hath a poor Peasant or Tradesman means to make great journeys, and to come and seek for Justice in the Capital City, remote perhaps 150 or 200 Leagues from the place of his abode? Will not the Governour cause him to be made away in his journey (as it hath often hapned) or catch him sooner or later? And will he not provide his Friends at Court, to support him there, and to represent things quite otherwise than they are? In a word, this Governour, hungry as well as the Timariots and Farmers (that are all men for drawing Oyl out of Sand, as the *Persian* speaks, and for ruining a world, with their heap of Women-harpies, Children and Slaves) this Governor, I say, is he not the absolute Master, the Super-intendant of Justice, the Parliament, the Receiver, and all? It

It may perhaps be added, that the Lands, which our Kings hold in *Domaine*, are no leſs well tilled and peopled, than other Land. But there is a great difference between the having in propriety ſome Lands here and there in a great Kingdom (which changes not the Conſtitution of the State and Government) and the having them all in propriety, which would alter it altogether. And then we in theſe parts have Laws ſo rational, which our Kings are willing to be the firſt to obſerve, and according to which they will that their particular Lands ſhall be governed as thoſe of their Subjects are, ſo as to give way, that Actions of Law may be laid againſt their own Farmers and Officers, ſo that a Peaſant or Tradeſman may have means to obtain Juſtice, and to find remedy againſt the unjuſt violence of thoſe that would oppreſs him: Whereas in thoſe parts of *Aſia*, I ſee almoſt not any refuge for thoſe poor people; the Cudgel and the Hammer of the Governour being in a manner the only Law that rules,

and decides all Controverſies there.

Laſtly, It may be ſaid, that 'tis at leaſt certain, that in ſuch States there is not ſuch a multitude of long-laſting ſutes of Law, as in theſe parts, nor ſo many Lawyers of all ſorts, as amongſt us. It is in my opinion, very true, that one cannot too much applaud that old *Perſian* Saing, *Na-hac Kouta Beter-Ez hac Deraz*, that is, *Short Injuſtice is better than long Juſtice*; and that the length of Law-Sutes is unſufferable in a State, and that it is the indiſpenſable duty of the Sovereign, by all good means to endeavour a remedy againſt them. And 'tis certain, that by taking away this *Meum* and *Tuum*, the root would be cut of an infinite number of Law-proceſſes, and eſpecially of almoſt all thoſe, that are of importance, and long and perplexed; and conſequently there would not need ſo great a number of Magiſtrates, which our Sovereigns do employ to adminiſter Juſtice to their Subjects, nor that ſwarm of men, which ſubſiſt only by that way. But 'tis alſo manifeſt, that

that the remedy would be an hundred times worſe than the Diſeaſe, conſidering thoſe great inconveniences that would follow thereupon, and that in all probability the Magiſtrates would become ſuch as thoſe of the *Aſiatick* States, who deſerve not that Name; for in a word, our Kings have yet cauſe to glory upon the account of good Magiſtracy under them. In thoſe parts, ſome Merchants excepted, Juſtice is only among the meaneſt ſort of people, that are poor and of an unequal condition, who have not the means of corrupting the Judges, and to buy falſe Witneſſes, that are there in great numbers, and very cheap, and never puniſhed. And this I have learn'd every where by the experience of many years, and by my ſolicitous enquiries made among the people of the Country, and our old Merchants that are in thoſe parts, as alſo of Ambaſſadors, Conſuls and Interpreters; whatever our common Travellers may ſay, who, upon their having ſeen by chance, when they paſſed by, two or

three Porters, or others of the like Gang, about a *Kady*, quickly diſpatching one or other of the parties, and ſometimes both, with ſome laſhes under the ſole of their feet, or with a *Maybalé Baba*, ſome mild words, when there is no wool to ſheer; who, I ſay, upon ſight of this, come hither, and cry out, O the good and ſhort Juſtice! O what honeſt Judges are thoſe in reſpect of ours! Not conſidering in the mean time, that if one of thoſe wretches, that is in the wrong, had a couple of Crowns to corrupt the *Kady*, or his Clerks, and as much to buy two falſe witneſſes, he might either win his proceſs, or prolong it as long as he pleaſed.

In concluſion, to be ſhort, I ſay, that the taking away this Propriety of Lands among private men, would be infallibly to introduce at the ſame time Tyranny, Slavery, Injuſtice, Beggery, Barbariſm, Deſolation, and to open a high way for the ruine and deſtruction of Mankind, and even of Kings and States: Aud that on the contrary; this

this *Meum* and *Tuum*, accompanied with the hopes that every one ſhall keep, what he works and labours for, for himſelf and his Children, as his own, is the main foundation of whatever is regular and good in the World: Inſomuch that whoſoever ſhall caſt his eyes upon the different Countries and Kingdoms, and taketh good notice of what follows upon this Propriety of Sovereigns, or that of the People, will ſoon find the true ſource and chief cauſe of that great difference we ſee in the ſeveral States and Empires of the world, and avow, that this is in a manner that which changes and diverſifieth the Face of the whole Earth.

FINIS.

THe Relation of a Voyage into *Mauritania* in *Africk*, by *Roland Frejus* of *Marſeilles*, by the *French* King's Order, 1666. To *Muley Arxid*, King of *Tafiletta*, &c. For the eſtabliſhment of a Commerce in the Kingdom of *Fez*, and all his other Conqueſts: With a Letter in Anſwer to divers curious Queſtions concerning the Religion, Manners and Cuſtoms of his Countries: Alſo their Trading to *Tombutum* for Gold, and divers other Particulars; by one who lived five and twenty years in the Kingdom of *Sus* and *Morocco*. Printed at *Paris*, 1670. *Engliſhed*, 1671. 8°, Price 1 *s* 6 *d*. Sold by *M. Pitt*, at the *Angel* near the Little North-Door of St *Paul*.